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GREEK GRAVE-RELIEFS.

BY RICHARD NORTON.

I.

ONE of the subjects connected with Greek Archaeology that has received most attention is that of the gravestones. It is not only the fascination of studying beautiful sculpture that has attracted scholars, nor that we possess a continuous series of these monuments from the earliest times, that is to say, from the Mycenaean epoch till the period when Greek individuality was suppressed by the Roman arms. The real reason is that although these monuments stand before us oftentimes uninjured by the lapse of years and with inscriptions carved upon them, they offer riddles as regards their interpretation which have not yet been solved, and which appeal to the curiosity of the student.

Until Schliemann's famous excavations at Mycenae in 1876, the earliest examples of grave steles which were known did not date from an earlier period than the sixth century B.C. We know, however, from Homer¹ that steles were, at the period when the poems were composed, considered as the *γέρας θανόντων* (Il. xvi. 458), and the passage Il. xi. 369 ff.

αὐτὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος . . .
.

στήλην κεκλιμένον ἀνδροκμήτῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ
Ἴλου Δαρδανίδαο, παλαιοῦ δημογέροντος

showed that the poet considered the custom of setting up grave steles an old one, for Ilos was the eponymos hero of Troy. Pindar, too, seems to have believed the custom to have existed in the heroic

¹ Il. xi. 371; xvi. 457, 675, xvii. 434; cf. xiii. 437; Od. xii. 14.

times; for in one of the Nemean Odes¹ he tells how Idas and Lynkeus, having killed Kastor, were pursued by Polydeukes:

. τοὶ δ' ἔναντα στάθεν τύμβῳ σχεδὸν
πατρῴῳ·
ἐνθεν ἀρπάξαντες ἄγαλμ' Ἀίδα, ξεστὸν πέτρον
ἔμβαλον στέργῳ Πολυδεύκεος.

But the actual character of these ancient steles was open to conjecture: whether, that is to say, they were memorials of the dead, or monuments dedicated to the gods. It is evident that these are the only characters which monuments marking graves can possess. In the one case the stele expresses the desire of the dead person or of his friends that after he has left the earth there should still be a perpetual reminder of him near the places he had frequented when alive; in the other case it expresses the religious feelings consequent upon the mystery of death, and is, as it were, of the nature of an appeal to the unknown rulers of the realm of Death. Hence, in an age when writing is not at all or but little developed, this religious type of gravestone is likely to exhibit a representation of some god or of something connected with the service of the gods.

The former class can be divided into the monuments which embody the desire of friends² or of a family to commemorate the dead; into those which embody the personal desire of the dead to be remembered, and finally, into those that symbolize, under the form of an animal, some characteristic of the buried person. The first of these classes is too common to need illustration; the second is illustrated by the desire which Aeschylus expressed, that on his gravestone should be inscribed that he had fought the Persians at Marathon.³ The symbolic class is well represented⁴ by the lion

¹ x. 65 ff.

² Cf. Anth. Pal. (ed. Dübner, Paris, 1871), vii. 509:

Σῆμα Θεόγνιδος εἰμι Σινωπέος, ᾧ μ' ἐπέθηκεν
Γλαῦκος ἐταιρείης ἀντὶ πολυχρονίου.

³ Cf. Pausanias, i. 14. 5. Anth. Pal. (Append.), ii. 17.

⁴ Cf. Weisshäupl, Die Grabgedichte der Griechischen Anthologie, p. 68 f.

set up in Corcyra over the grave of Menecrates, or that at Thermopylae over the grave of Leonidas and the Spartans,¹ or that at Chaeronea over the Thebans who had fallen in the battle with Philip in 338 B.C.² Bulls too were used with symbolic significance, as the one still *in situ* in the Dipylon in Athens shows,³ and dogs,⁴ which were sometimes thought of as watchers of the tomb. In the Anthology we have references to the last in such verses as,⁵

Εἰπὲ, κύον, τίνος ἀνδρὸς ἐφεστὼς σῆμα φυλάσσεις ;

Sphinxes also occur used in this manner,⁶ as a symbol, the meaning of which has not been discovered.

It is important to keep in mind, as we study these monuments, the similarity of the feeling that we now have towards death to that which the Greeks had, for this is one of the few subjects connected with Greek archaeology in the consideration of which we may fairly, to a certain extent, use our own feelings in the interpretation of problems that arise without that danger of drawing false conclusions from them which exists in most other branches of the study.

The thought of the inevitableness of death was as common to the Greeks as to us. Homer, in speaking of Ἔννομος, the augur, says :⁷

ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰωνοῖσιν ἐρύσσατο κῆρα μέλαιναν.

Not though he foresaw the events to come could he escape the Great Equalizer : κοινὸς πᾶσι λιμὴν Ἄϊδης.⁸ Whatever differences in

¹ Cf. Anth. Pal. vii. 248, 249.

² Cf. Overbeck, Geschichte der Griechischen Plastik (4. Aufl.), ii. 189. Friederichs-Wolters, Bausteine, 1008. Milchhöfer, Mitth. d. Inst. in Athen, iv. 65.

³ Milchhöfer, *ibid.*

⁴ Milchhöfer, *ibid.*, p. 63. Furtwaengler, Einleitung zu der Sammlung Sabouroff, p. 51.

⁵ Anth. Pal. vii. 64. For other cases of symbolism, cf. 421-428.

⁶ Milchhöfer, p. 63 ff. Cf. also in regard to this class of monuments Brückner, Ornament und Form der Attischen Grabstelen, p. 26 f.

⁷ Il. ii. 859.

⁸ Anth. Pal. vii. 452. Cf. Kaibel, Epigram. Graeca ex Lap. conl. 256.

rank or fortune exist in life, when the end comes all men are alike. As might be expected, Solon emphasized this idea and said :¹

τὰ γὰρ περιώσια πάντα
χρήματ' ἔχων οὐδείς ἔρχεται εἰς Ἀΐδew·
οὐδ' ἂν ἄποινα διδοὺς θάνατον φύγοι . . .

Another way of saying the same thing is,

ὥς ἀλλ' καὶ γαίῃ ξυνὸς ὕπεστ' Ἀΐδης²

or as in another epigram,

θανάτῳ πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα.³

Another feeling which is as old as the race of man is that of the cruelty of death, — that those go who ought to live. It is this which is the bitterest feeling that can spring up in the cheerless presence of death, and which only those escape who are blessed with a steadfast conviction that all things, even death, serve some ulterior and beautiful purpose. We find it very simply and touchingly expressed in the lines⁴:

Ἡ γρῆς Νικὼ Μελίτης τάφον ἔστεφάνωσε
παρθενικῆς. Ἀΐδη, τοῦθ' ὁσίως κέκρικας;

Why does Death take the young and leave the old?⁵ No matter what one's religious beliefs, this question occurs to all, and all must feel sympathy for the father who said :⁶

Δωδεκῆν τὸν παῖδα πατὴρ ἀπέθηκε Φίλιππος
ἐνθάδε, τὴν πολλὴν ἐλπίδα, Νικοτέλην.

But together with the grief that Death brings comes one comfort, one sure stay and anchor, in the conviction that though the bodies have passed away, still the memory of noble or beautiful men and

¹ Poet. Lyr. Graec. Min. (ed. Pomtow), i. 135, No. 21. Cf. Anth. Pal. vii. 130; Pindar, Nem. vii. 19. 31; xi. 16; Isth. vi. 42.

² Anth. Pal. vii. 265.

³ Anth. Pal. x. 105.

⁴ Anth. Pal. vii. 187.

⁵ Cf. Anth. Pal. vii. 483, 671.

⁶ Anth. Pal. vii. 453.

women is immortal. It was this that Simonides felt in regard to the Athenians who fell at Plataea:¹

Εἰ τὸ καλῶς θνήσκειν ἀρετῆς μέρος ἐστὶ μέγιστον,
 ἡμῖν ἐκ πάντων τούτ' ἀπένειμε τύχη·
 Ἑλλάδι γὰρ σπεύδοντες ἐλευθερίην περιθεῖναι
 κείμεθ' ἀγῆράντῳ χρώμενοι εὐλογίῃ.

It was this that Plato felt when he wrote the immortal verses:²

Ἄστῆρ πρὶν μὲν ἑλαμπες ἐνὶ ζωοῖσιν Ἑῶος·
 νῦν δὲ θανὼν λάμπεις Ἑσπερος ἐν φθιμένοις.

I have, with these quotations, endeavored merely to suggest the natural similarity of feeling in regard to death between ourselves and the Greeks,—a similarity which, would we understand these grave-monuments truly, must never be lost sight of; for these steles are not the scattered remnants of a vanished sentiment, but are the manifestation of a feeling that “makes all men kin,” quickened, made beautiful, and eternized by their simple, yet truthful, rendering of human life.

The steles I have referred to as found by Schliemann were slabs about five feet high by three feet three inches broad, four of them being carved, while others were plain.³ They were found above the so-called ‘shaft’-graves within the city walls of Mycenae. The sculptured steles were found over the graves that contained men’s bodies, while the unsculptured ones were over the graves that contained only women. Over grave iv, which contained bodies of both sexes, was an unsculptured stele. Notwithstanding this apparent exception it seems safe to conclude that sculptured steles were used to commemorate men alone and not women. Considering the secondary part played by women (the women of the heroic age, as sung by the poets, do not come under consideration) in the life of the ancient Greeks, it is not unnatural that the steles for the men

¹ Poet. Lyr. Graec. Min. ii. 23. No. 22. cf. No. 23; Anth. Pal. vii. 258; Pindar, Isth. vi. 27 f.

² Anth. Pal. vii. 670; cf. 587.

³ Sculptured fragments of others were also found. Schliemann’s Excavations, ed. by Schuchhardt, p. 167.

should have been of a more elaborate character than those for the women. Whether the latter were painted or not is not known, but, taking into account the common use of paint at Mycenae, the practice among the people of that town of decorating even the most trivial objects, and finally, the lack of monumental character in a simple slab of stone, it seems not improbable that they were so decorated. We must not suppose that because they were apparently unornamented or because they were over women's graves that they are not grave-steles and that women were not so honored after death, for we have distinct proof that in Homer's time they were in this way commemorated. The poet says of the horses of Patroklos, sorrowing for their master, that they would not move:¹

ἀλλ' ὥς τε στήλη μένει ἔμπεδον, ἣ τ' ἐπὶ τύμβῳ
ἀνέρος ἐσθήκη τεθυότος ἤε γυναικός.

If at the time the *Iliad* was composed steles were set up over the graves of women, we may, in view of the well-known conservatism of the Greeks, safely conclude that the custom dated from a period at least as early as that of the Mycenaean civilization.

It is, however, the sculptured steles that are of most interest to us, for in them we have the first instances of the custom I have mentioned above, which continued common to the latest times, of representing the deceased as he had appeared in life. Of the four well-preserved carved steles, one has merely spiral patterns, while three have figure subjects, all of the same type. In the latter cases we have a man in armor driving a chariot, and apparently in conflict with a man on foot who is also armed.² That the charioteer is attacking the man on foot may be safely inferred from the position of the man in Schuchhardt's fig. 147 who, with his shield of the usual Mycenaean shape above him, lies under the horses' feet. In fig. 145 the action of the lower half of the figure, which is all that remains, seems without doubt to imply that he is defending himself from the charioteer; while, finally, in fig. 146 it is impossible to decide what the figure is doing, — whether he is accompanying the

¹ Il. xvii. 434.

² Schuchhardt, figs. 145, 146, 147; Schliemann's Mycenae, figs. 142-149.

charioteer, attacking him, or being pursued. The last of these three possibilities is, considering the analogy of the two similar figures on the other steles, the most natural supposition.

In figs. 145 and 146 we find, beside the panel containing the battle scene, other panels filled with decorative designs. In fig. 147 these decorative panels are lacking, but below and in the same panel with the battle scene is a lion (?) pursuing a stag. It might be supposed that the presence of these animals in the same panel with the charioteer bore some reference to the prowess of the dead man as a huntsman.¹ But, as lions pursuing stags are a favorite motive of decoration in Mycenaean art,² and as the battle scene is plainly the most important one, we may conclude that the animals are merely used as decoration and to fill the otherwise empty space in the same way as the decorative designs on the other two steles.

The conclusion we come to is then this: that over these graves, which, to judge from their contents, contained the remains of men of high rank, if not even the leaders of the people, were placed steles with battle scenes sculptured upon them, emblematic of the bravery in battle which the dead had shown during their lifetime.

We have already seen that at the time when the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were composed the custom of erecting steles was well known, if not common; but it may be well to examine the evidence more closely and to see if anything in regard to the character of these monuments at that time can be made out. Of the six passages in the poems where the word is used, none gives any distinct evidence as to the character of these monuments, and, as Helbig³ says, although "Grabstelen werden öfter erwähnt, doch findet sich keine Andeutung dass sie mit Skulpturen geschmückt gewesen wären." This is true, but considering the highly developed state of the decorative arts as exhibited in the poems, and also that grave steles were sculptured both in the period before the poems and in that which followed, it is safe to assume that they were also so decorated in the time

¹ Furtwaengler, *Einleitung z. d. Samm. Sab.* p. 23.

² Cf. the bronze sword inlaid with gold, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, x. Pl. 2, and Schuchhardt, fig. 260.

³ Helbig, *Das Homerische Epos*, 2 ed. p. 62.

when the poems were composed. Whether such sculpture took a religious or (like the Mycenaean steles) a purely commemorative character is a question to which only a partial answer can be given.

The passage from the *Iliad*¹ which I have already quoted shows that the poet considered the custom an old one and as a *γέρας θανόντων*—both men and women; but we get a closer insight into his ideas on this subject from other passages. In book xii of the *Odyssey*, he tells how Odysseus, after having gone down to the realms of Hades to inquire of his fate from the seer Teiresias, returned with his comrades to the island where Circe dwelt in order to bury their companion Elpenor, who had died just before they started on their journey to the lower regions.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ νεκρός τ' ἐκάη καὶ τεύχεα νεκροῦ,
 τυμβον χεύσαντες καὶ ἐπὶ στήλην ἐρύσαντες
 πῆξαμεν ἀκροτάτῳ τύμβῳ εὐήρες ἐρετμόν.²

Now it might be supposed that the setting up of the oar had some religious significance in connection with Poseidon, especially since Teiresias had told Odysseus that on his return to Ithaka he must, after certain wanderings which the seer describes to him,

. . . τότε δὴ γαίῃ πῆξας εὐήρες ἐρετμόν
 ῥέξας ἱερὰ καλὰ Ποσειδάωνι ἀνακτι,³

and that the carving with which the grave stele was probably decorated was also of religious significance.⁴ I cannot prove absolutely that this was not the case, but the evidence that the oar was merely symbolic of Elpenor's life as a sailor is very strong. It is this. In later centuries we find many gravestones for men who had died at sea which have carved upon them a man sitting on the prow of a boat. Another even stronger bit of evidence is given us by the following lines of Sappho:⁵

¹ xi. 371.

² Od. xii. 13 ff.; cf. x. 551 ff.

³ Od. xi. 129 ff.

⁴ It may be thought that sailors on a voyage would not have the means for carving a stele, but we must remember that we are reading poetry and not the log-book of a scientific voyage of discovery.

⁵ Anth. Pal. vii. 505; Bergk, P. L. G. Frag. iii. 120; Pomtow, i. 116, No. 63.

Τῷ γριπεῖ Πελάγωνι πατὴρ ἐπέθηκε Μενίσκος
κύρτον καὶ κώπαν, μνᾶμα κακοζοίας.

From all this we may fairly draw the inference that at least in certain cases the gravestones of the Homeric age were of purely commemorative or symbolic, rather than of religious character, and there is further support of this inference to be derived from the fact that in the Homeric poems the references to carved images of the gods are very few and slight, while references to decorative art of much the same character as the Mycenaean are abundant.¹ As regards images of the gods, we find a reference to one of Athena,² and another to a representation of Athena and Ares.³ It is true that there are references to representations of other beings of a more or less divine nature, such as the Pleiades and the Hyades,⁴ or to Strife, Tumult, and Fate,⁵ but we must remember that the art described by a poet is often in advance of the art of his own day, so that, taking this into consideration, and also the fact of the extreme rudeness of the earliest statues which we possess, the conclusion is probably safe that in the time of the Homeric poems a fixed plastic form, such as could be used repeatedly as a type on gravestones, had not yet been given to the gods.

Thus we see that while there is scarcely a particle of evidence that the Homeric gravestones were decorated in a religious way, there is a good deal of indirect evidence that, as in the Mycenaean period, they were purely commemorative of the life of the dead person.

We now have to consider a series of grave-reliefs, all of which were found in the neighborhood of Sparta, though some at a considerable distance from that town.⁶ The earliest of these reliefs can

¹ Some of the most noteworthy of the latter are Il. xi. 19. 632, xviii. 468 f.; Od. xi. 609, xix. 226.

² Il. vi. 302 f.

³ Il. xviii. 516.

⁴ Il. xviii. 484 ff.

⁵ Il. xviii. 535.

⁶ The most important articles on the subject are the following: Milchhöfer and Dressler, Mittheilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst. in Athen. ii. 303 ff., Pl. xx. ff.; Furtwaengler, Einleitung zu der Sammlung Sabouroff, 160 and Pl. i, Athen. Mitt. vii. 160 f., Pl. 7; Gardner, Journal of Hellenic Studies, v. 122; Friederichs-Wolters, Bausteine, 58; Roscher, Lexikon d. Griech. u. Röm. Myth. 2567.

be dated as far back as the sixth century B.C. while the latest is not older than the second century B.C., so that we have an interesting and consecutive series, all the more interesting because the type remains throughout approximately the same. The type¹ is in the earliest instance two figures — a man and a woman enthroned at the left in profile to the right. The woman is beyond the man, and holds her veil with one outstretched hand and a pomegranate in the other. The man, also in profile except his face, which is in full front, holds a kantharos in his outstretched hand; his other arm is held slightly bent upwards and the hand open. Behind the throne is generally a snake curving upwards. Coming towards these two enthroned figures are two much smaller ones — a man and a woman, the former holding a cock and egg (?), the latter, a pomegranate and flower. With minor variations this is the fixed type for these reliefs.²

The first question that arises is: What are these monuments? The answer that has always been given is that they are grave-monuments. The second question is: What do they represent? It is in answering this that we may meet many difficulties. At first sight one sees that, unlike the steles from Mycenae and those of the Homeric time (though in regard to the latter I admit the case is only partially proved), we have here to deal, not with a strictly commemorative subject, but with a religious one.

When the steles were first studied, several archaeologists believed the enthroned figures to be a god and a goddess. Brunn³ believed them to be "Dionysos mit seiner Gattin." Conze⁴ said (p. 281) in an article in the *Annali*: "Non v'è dubbio che qui sia rappresentata una copia di dei; l'uomo è Dioniso, secondo l'antico concetto, barbaro, con lunga chioma ed in pieno vestiario; egli è meglio indicato dal cantaro nella destra." Further on, p. 284, he continues: "Se con sicurezza abbiamo riconosciuto Dioniso non possiamo con eguale certezza stabilire chi sia la donna che sul trono gli siede

¹ Cf. *Samm. Sab. Pl. I, Athen. Mitt. ii. 22.*

² The various measurements and technical characteristics can be found in the works I have quoted above.

³ *Arch. Ztg. 1876, p. 28.*

⁴ *Ann. dell. Inst. di Corres. Arch. xlii. p. 277 f., Tav. d'agg. Q.*

accanto ;" and on p. 287, "Deve dunque secondo ciò apparire verosimile che il nostro rilievo rappresenti Semele in trono al lato di Dioniso, alla qual spiegazione s'adotta pure molto bene l'aspetto nazionale ed il distintivo del velo." Boetticher¹ said the figures were "Bacchus und Ariadne." This opinion, which in the light of added discoveries it is now easy to see was quite erroneous, was not an unnatural one when only one or two of these steles were known. Milchhöfer, however, after a study of several such steles which he published, together with plates, in the *Athenische Mittheilungen*² proved that whatever else the figures might represent they did not represent Dionysos, and concluded (p. 473) that: "Wir sind bei der Betrachtung unseres Reliefs davon ausgegangen dass ihr zahlreiches Auftreten, ihre locale Verbreitung, bei einem wenigstens auch der Fundort, ferner ihre tektonische Form und neben anderen Symbolen, besonders die Schlange, dieselbe einer Klasse von Monumenten zuweisen, welche ihre nächste Analogie in den anathematischen Sepulchralreliefs finden; doch mit dem Unterschiede dass hier nicht die heroizierten Todten selber sondern die über Tod und Leben in der gesammten Natur waltenden Gottheiten dargestellt seien," and these "Gottheiten" he identified with Hades and Persephone. This opinion he changed, and in two later articles³ declared, in as strong terms as he had used for his earlier identification, that it is not the gods whom we have represented, but the heroised dead. This now is the opinion generally held, and it is based primarily on the evidence adduced by Professor Furtwaengler in the *Einleitung zu der Sammlung Sabouloff*⁴ and in an article dealing with one in particular of the series.⁵

But I am inclined to believe that a mistake has been made in considering the steles as grave-steles and again in considering them to be all of one class in regard to their *meaning*. That they

¹ Arch. Ztg. 1870, p. 21.

² ii. 303 ff.; explanation, p. 458 f.

³ Athen. Mitt. iv. 163; Arch. Ztg. 1881, p. 281 f.

⁴ This *Einleitung* is by far the most important work on the subject of grave-monuments. The pages 15 ff. deal more particularly with the Spartan steles.

⁵ Athen. Mitt. vii. 160 f., Pl. 7.

are all derived from the same type is true, but I believe it can be shown that to the earliest members of the series a meaning was attached different from that of the later ones.

As is well known, the worship among the Greeks of heroised dead was universal, and was a custom of extreme antiquity.¹ This worship was founded on the belief that the spirits of the dead were possessed with powers which they could use for good or evil over the living. They could have no power in the lower world, for there everything was under the control of Hades and Persephone. We here meet with a contradiction in Greek ideas in regard to a life hereafter,—for when an ordinary mortal died his spirit was supposed to pass to Hades;² but the heroised dead were thought to dwell in the grave,³ over which sacrifices and libations were made with the double purpose of conciliating the intentions and gratifying the appetite of those whom it held, who were in character half gods and half men. Lucian⁴ describes a hero as *ὁ μήτε ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν, μήτε θεός καὶ συναμφότερόν ἐστιν*, and speaks of such beings satisfying their carnal appetites, of which Death was not thought to have rid them.⁵ This custom is well illustrated by the so-called 'Feast of the Dead'-reliefs, and Professor Furtwaengler has shown that there is no reason to believe that a single one of the great number of these which we possess was a gravestone, but that they were always votive reliefs.⁶ Now the very existence of this series of votive hero-reliefs, which imply the strict limitation to this earth of the power of the heroes, contemporaneously with true grave-reliefs, is enough to make us doubt whether hero-reliefs were ever used as grave-steles proper.

¹ Cf. Furtwaengler, *Einleitung*, p. 21 ff. For the contrary view, see Roscher, *Lexikon d. Griech. u. Röm. Myth.* s. v. *Heros*. 2453.

² Pind. *Frag. Θρήνοι*, i.

³ Cf. Roscher, *id.* 2466.

⁴ *Dial. Mort.* 3. 2. Cf. Roscher, *Lex. a. a. o.* 2462 ff.

⁵ That Lucian's belief as to the character of these beings was not of late origin is shown by the passage in the *Iliad* (xii. 23) where they are called *ἡμθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν*. Hesiod (*Op.* 170) speaks of the "blessed heroes," but Pindar is the first author we know of who speaks of heroes as objects of worship, although we know that the custom long antedated the time when he wrote. For the early origin of the custom, see Rohde, *Psyche*, 137 f.

⁶ *Einleitung*, 21 ff.

Another fact to notice is that the Laconian steles were found over a broad expanse of the country, and that also others of the same general type have been found in Boeotia,¹ Aegina,² Paros,³ and elsewhere. The fact that we have so many of the same type at the beginning of the series shows us that the type had been long known and used when the earliest specimens which we have were made. Now we can hardly suppose that over this great stretch of country — Paros, Boeotia, Laconia — the same heroes were commemorated or that so many different artists would have created approximately the same type for the commemoration of different heroes. We are dealing with works that date from a time when intercommunication was very difficult, and the presence of this type in so many places shows us that it must have originated in some more general and vivid idea than that of the heroised dead.

There is a small bit of apparent evidence in favor of the usual interpretation of these monuments to be found in Homer. Professor Furtwaengler says⁴ that some such seated figure of a god as those we are studying “schwebt dem Dichter der Odyssee vor, wenn er Alkinoos schildert, wie er im Megaron auf dem *θρόνος* sitzt und seinen Wein trinkt *ἀθάνατος ὥς* (vi. 308).” But it seems questionable if the poet had any other idea than to give a lively image of the power and wealth and ease of the king. In Pindar (Pyth. iii. 94) we find that Peleus and Kadmos were visited by the gods:

καὶ θεοὶ δαΐσαντο παρ' ἀμφοτέροις,
καὶ Κρόνου παῖδας βασιλῆας ἴδον χρυσέαις ἐν ἔδραις.

This, too, quite as much as the passage from Homer, might be interpreted as affording support to the common interpretation of the figures on the steles. Neither passage, however, does this. In one we find a mortal compared to an immortal; in the other the comparison is reversed. This shows that the phrase quoted by Furtwaengler has no subtle or hidden meaning.

These, then, are the difficulties that meet us if we attempt to

¹ Athen. Mitt. iii. 318.

² Athen. Mitt. viii. Pl. 18, p. 375.

³ Athen. Mitt. vii. 170. Cf. Arch. Ztg. 1874, p. 31, No. 259, Pl. v.

⁴ Einleitung, p. 21.

interpret these figures as the heroised dead, while if we use the earlier interpretation, that the figures represent the Gods, these difficulties fade away, nor do others of so serious character arise.

Whatever be the interpretation, these grave-steles (for the present I will use this name) are plainly of the religious type; hence they are almost certain, as I have said above, to have the character of an appeal to the rulers of the lower world, Hades and Persephone, the former of whom was the *βασιλεὺς ἐνέρων*.¹ These are surely the natural powers to invoke by such monuments.

To see the intimate connection between the dead and Hades and Persephone, we have but to look over the grave inscriptions and verses in memory of the dead which have come down to us. We find not only that the names of heroes do not occur,² but also that two personages are referred to again and again, namely, Hades and Persephone. For instance, of an unmarried maiden is said:

Οὐ γάμον, ἀλλ' Ἀΐδαν ἐπινυμφίδιαν Κλεαρίστα
δέξατο, παρθενίας ἄμματα λυομένα . . .³

or,

*Αἰδης τὴν Κροκάλης ἔφθασε παρθενίην.⁴

And with these can be compared the fragment of Sappho :⁵

Τιμάδος ἄδε κόνις, τὰν δὴ πρὸ γάμοιο θανοῦσαν
δέξατο Φερσεφόνας κυνάεος θάλαμος.

In these we see that a person immediately after death comes under the rule of one or other of the rulers of the lower world.⁶

Again we get the idea of the immediate power of Hades over the

¹ Aeschylus, *Prom.* 627. Cf. *Ἀΐδης ἐνέροισιν ἀνάσσειν*, *Il.* xv. 188; *ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀιδωνεύς*, *Il.* xx. 61; Hesiod, *Theog.* 850.

² Professor Furtwaengler, *Einleitung*, p. 19, mentions one exception, — a grave-stone set up in the period of the Roman empire by a father to his young son, and on it are the words, *ἀνέστησε ἥρωα συγγενέας*. Until other cases of the same sort are discovered, the evidence is not strong enough to impair seriously my argument, particularly in view of the late date of this monument.

³ *Anth. Pal.* vii. 182.

⁴ *Anth. Pal.* vii. 183.

⁵ *Poet. Lyr. Graec. Min.* (ed. Pomtow), No. 62; *Anth. Pal.* vii. 489.

⁶ Cf. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 185, 508. *Poet. Lyr. Graec. Min.* ii. 51, No. 106; 113, No. 2.

dead and dying by such an epigram as that of Theodoros,¹ in which Tityros is represented dying, and receiving the command from Hades to be jester among the dead. In the verses of Bianor,² in which the speaker mourns for his little son, who has died subsequently to the death of his mother, we find a direct prayer to Persephone that she may lay the child on its mother's bosom. Other verses similar to these can be found,³ and what they suggest is that the two divinities thought of by the Greeks as being most intimately connected with death were Persephone and Hades.

The suggestions we get from literature are of course largely to be found in such scattered verses as those I have taken from the Anthology, but there is one important passage in Pindar to which, in connection with another part of my subject, I have already referred. It is where he describes how Polydeukes pursued Idas and Lynkeus, and how they stood hard by their father's tomb and⁴

ἐνθεν ἀρπάξαντες ἄγαλμ' Ἀίδα, ξεστὸν πέτρον.
ἔμβαλον στέρνῳ πολυδεύκεος.

There are but two explanations of these words. One is that the ξεστὸν πέτρον was a gravestone carved with a representation of Hades. The second, and perhaps more probable, is that the stone was merely a fetich. The incontrovertible fact remains, however, that it was considered as a figure of Hades. What strikes us further is that this scene is laid presumably in Laconia, for Lynkeus has been described⁵ as ἀπὸ Ταῦγέτου ποταυγάζων. Now we must remember that Pindar, who was born about 522 B.C., lived certainly not many years after the earliest of the known steles was made, and while the type was still in use. There is no reason why he might not, when traveling, have seen such steles in Laconia, and, since similar steles have been found in Boeotia,⁶ which was his home, he is likely to have seen them there. This evidence is extremely strong, but there is still more. In the *Athenische Mittheilungen*⁷ Milchhöfer published a seated statue of a man, similar in general form to the

¹ Anth. Pal. vii. 506.

² Anth. Pal. vii. 387.

³ Anth. Pal. vii. 483, 507; Pindar, Ol. ix. 33.

⁷ ii. 298. 3. Cf. vii. 170 and Arch. Ztg. 1881, p. 293, Pl. 17, 3.

⁴ Nem. x. 68.

⁵ Nem. x. 61.

⁶ Athen. Mitt. iii. 318.

figures found at Branchidae, across whose lap is an inscription which he read as *Ἀίδεος*. This he considered to be a form of *Ἀιδης*. Treu,¹ however, says that what seem to be the letters AI are only cracks in the stone, and that the word is really *Δεός*, a Laconian form of *Ζεύς*. Be this as it may, the statue, which, in form, is little more than one of the figures from the reliefs we are considering in the round, is clearly designated as a god. The attributes, indeed, do not exist, owing to the incapacity of the artist to compass the difficulties of carving them in the round, but an inscription has taken their place. If the inscription is to be read as *Ἀιδης*, we have gained a strong bit of evidence for the identification of the figures on the grave-reliefs. Further, the front legs of the throne are formed by animals, one on each side.² On one of the reliefs an animal is represented in exactly the same position.³ They are nothing more than supports for the arms of the throne. If, as is not unlikely, the choice of a dog (?) for the support was influenced by the seated figure being a representation of *Ζεύς*, this *Ζεύς* can only be *Ζεὺς χθόνιος*, who was the same as Hades, as the line in Homer shows:

*Ζεύς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινή Περσεφόνηα*⁴.

Here, then, is another strong bit of evidence in favor of Milchhöfer's original interpretation of the figures.

¹ Arch. Ztg. 1882, p. 76.

² Furtwaengler is mistaken in implying (Athen. Mitt. vii. 170) that there is only one dog (?). Milchhöfer was right in recognizing two. In speaking of this throne, Professor Furtwaengler said to me that the type with an animal on each side, as arms, was unknown in Greek art. Hence this throne could not be of that type. This is not argument, but assertion, and at best goes against all probabilities. Leaving the throne under discussion out of the question, we must remember that what is unknown to us and what was unknown to Greek art are two very different matters. Furthermore, the fact that thrones with animal arms were well known in Egypt, and that the Phoenicians also were acquainted with them, as is shown by the seated statue of Phoenician workmanship in Palermo, must make us hesitate to say that they were unknown to the Greeks. The famous stone of the Ludovisi collection must not be forgotten in the consideration of this question.

³ Athen. Mitt. ii. Pl. 22.

⁴ Il. ix. 457. Cf. Roscher, Lex. 1780; Preller-Robert, Griechische Mythologie, pp. 756, 798. For the dog as a chthonic emblem, see Furtwaengler, Einleitung zu d. S. S. p. 51; Athen. Mitt. vii. 160 f. and the first of Milchhöfer's articles.

There is also a statue of a seated woman with a dog (?) in this same position. This was found in Arcadia, and has the inscription on the base Ἀγεμώ or Ἀγεσώ. This figure Professor Furtwaengler¹ identifies as an "Unterweltsgottheit," or as a heroine, adducing as evidence for the latter identification the 'Feast of the Dead'-relief in Boeotia,² which has the inscription Ἡγεμῶν Ἀρχηγέτης. If these two explanations be considered the only possible ones, the first seems to me, in the light of the other statue, to be the most probable. That we cannot bring any evidence to show that Persephone had the title Ἀγεμώ is not against this supposition, for no more can we show that there was any such heroine. But, as a matter of fact, more than these two explanations are possible. It may be that Hegeso is merely a proper name; that the figure, like later grave-monuments, is simply a mortal woman.

So until we are able to prove who the woman is and that these animals *are* dogs, the statues afford but the feeblest evidence one way or another. I have mentioned them merely because it seems to me that false deductions have been drawn from them.

However, perhaps the strongest single bit of evidence is the terracotta plaque, which was found in Italy,³ and which Milchhöfer used in his first article as evidence in favor of his original supposition in regard to the figures. Here we see Hades and Persephone seated side by side on a throne, just as on the steles, and identified beyond all question by their attributes of a cock, wheat, and narcissus flowers.

Together with this should be considered a vase⁴ on which we see Demeter and Persephone enthroned on the right, while before them is a man pouring a libation. The analogy between this scene and the reliefs, particularly a fragment⁵ which I shall consider further on, is strikingly close.

Finally, there is a late statue of Hades in the Villa Borghese, with

¹ Athen. Mitt. vii. 169. Cf. Einleitung, 49.

² Berlin Catalogue of Sculpture, 819.

³ Annali, xix. (1847) p. 188, Pl. F.

⁴ Ann. dell. Inst. 1865, p. 84, Pl. F.; Wiener Vorlegeblätter, Ser. C. 8. 2; Heydemann, Die Vasensammlung zu Neapel. 3358.

⁵ Athen. Mitt. viii. Pl. 17.

Kerberos at his side in the same position as the animal in the statue mentioned above.¹

To sum up: we find that Hades and Persephone are mentioned again and again with reference to their intimate relation to the dead; that in Pindar there is mention of a grave-stele with Hades carved upon it; that there are other works of art which add more or less direct evidence in favor of giving the names Hades and Persephone to these figures; and finally that there is no evidence that these divinities are not here represented.

Hitherto I have called these steles *grave-steles*. I will now explain what I believe them really to be.

From the fact that only a single stele was found on a tumulus in which many people must have been buried, Professor Furtwaengler was led to call them family gravestones.² They are evidently not gravestones in the usual sense of the word. We know, too, that the belief that the souls of heroes inhabited the grave led to the custom of making sacrifices and libations on the grave itself,³ and that hero-worship was very common in Laconia. That the steles are not grave-steles in the proper sense is suggested in the first place by the very marked resemblance in character that they bear to steles found elsewhere that are certainly not grave-steles; secondly, by the inexplicability of some of the later ones if considered as grave-steles; thirdly, by the fact that when we do find true personal grave-steles later in this series of reliefs, although they assume a type derived from these earlier ones, their character is distinctly different. From these facts I am led to believe that these monuments are not gravestones, but are nothing more than a sort of altar-picture, exactly similar in character to those in modern churches, before which prayers and offerings are made to the Virgin; further, that the two main figures represent Hades and Persephone, the rulers of the dead, while the pious but ephemeral generations of men who perform all the proper duties to the dead in due season are represented in the little figures who carry offerings; finally, that the snake is perhaps the symbol of the souls of the dead.⁴

¹ Cf. Roscher, Lex. 1803.

² Einleitung, p. 23.

³ Roscher, Lex. 2505 and 2459.

⁴ That the snake had this meaning is shown by Roscher, Lex. 2466.

In comparing these reliefs to altar-pictures I do not in the least mean that they were on altars, but that before them were made the vows and offerings to the dead, just as nowadays prayers are made before pictures of the Virgin. They were a centre for the cultus of the dead, and were merely put on the graves and not in the temples or other sacred enclosures, because it was at the former that the rites of the cultus were performed.

Of the reliefs I have referred to as being like these but as certainly not grave-steles one was dug up on the Acropolis in Athens.¹ On the left is an upright figure of Athena, towards whom apparently a whole family of worshippers is approaching, all of smaller size than the goddess. They bring various offerings, among them a pig. The similarity of subject on this stele, which is a votive stele, and on the Laconian ones cannot but add strength to my theory.

Another of the same sort, and also from Athens, is described by Conze.² It is merely a fragment representing a female divinity enthroned on the left. From the right approaches a maiden; that she is a full-grown woman is shown by the form of the breasts. The difference in size between the two figures is due to the desire of the artist for isocephalism, and perhaps partly (though this is very doubtful) to his wish to exalt the power of the goddess through her greater size. The actions of the two figures cannot be made out, except that both are holding their dresses in the usual archaic manner, and that the maiden is offering something to the goddess. I can see no reason to doubt that this is a votive relief, and not a grave-relief, as Wolters and Schoene³ have considered it. Until a relief of this sort is found that can be proved without doubt to be a grave-relief, we have no reason for rejecting the natural opinion arising from their analogy to undoubted votive reliefs.⁴

¹ *Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1886, p. 179, Pl. 9.

² *Griechische Grabreliefs*, Pl. 12. Conze gives the literature on this stele. It is also well reproduced in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1880, p. 540, Pl. 6.

³ *Friederichs-Wolters*, 102; *Schoene, Griechische Reliefs*, 122.

⁴ Cf. with the above-mentioned steles the fragmentary one on the Acropolis in Athens, which possibly represents the *ἥρωις κέραμος*. It represents a bearded man seated to the left. He holds in his hands two kylixes. The use of the word *ἥρωις*

There are a few steles, as I have said, which it is almost impossible to explain as grave-steles. One of them¹ which deserves attention in this connection was found in southern Laconia, and shows a maiden filling a kantharos, which was originally held by a seated figure, *whether man or woman we cannot tell* because only the hand of the figure is left. It is not older than the middle of the fifth century B.C. Professor Furtwaengler calls it a grave-stele, and he explains the type as follows (p. 367): "Den thronenden Heros zeigte der alte, in Sparta so schön erhaltene Typus, in voller Ruhe zur Seite der Frau, mit dem vorgestreckten Kantharos. Als man dies zu starr und leblos fand bot sich das Motiv des Eingiessens als überaus passend dar, um die beiden Figuren in lebendige Wechselwirkung zu setzen. Der Mann mit dem Kantharos blieb ruhig sitzen; die Frau aber stand auf und giesst nun in den Becher ein, wie wir es auf unserem Relief sehen." To prove this strange type of a goddess or heroine filling the kantharos of a god or hero, he adduces two or three votive reliefs on which much the same scene is represented. That these analogies are votive reliefs throws discredit on the theory that the Laconian relief is a grave-relief; they are also late and unusual, so that we may doubt if such a peculiar idea of the relation of one divinity or hero to another was at all common. Another explanation is perhaps possible. We shall see presently that from the early type of what I have called 'altar-reliefs' was developed, in later times, when art had become freer, a type of actual gravestone very similar to these early altar-reliefs. Now I would suggest that the relief in question is but a freer development of the earlier type, and that the artist, having become more completely master of his material, has succeeded in representing more clearly the natural proportion and the act of the worshipper. It is barely possible, but from what we have already seen not in the least probable, that the scene is supposed to be in the lower world, as Furtwaengler implies in saying that the figures are hero and heroine; but, even

must not be taken to indicate that this figure was any semi-divine personage. The word was a mere title applied generally to men of prowess in battle, but also to men skilful in any pursuit, as Demodokos the minstrel (Od. viii. 483) or Moullos the herald (Od. xviii. 423).

¹ Furtwaengler, Athen. Mitt. viii. 364, Pl. xvi

then, the maiden is much more likely a human person and the other figure a god, for Pindar says,¹ in describing the Elysian Fields,

αἰεὶ θύα μιν γέντων πυρὶ τηλεφανεί παντοῖα θεῶν
ἐπὶ βωμοῖς,

and it is the dwellers there who make these sacrifices, not one god to another. It is possible that the original site of the stele was on a grave, and that it is a form of the earlier altar-reliefs. On this point we lack evidence, but we are safe in assuming that the theory that one of the figures has risen from her chair to fill the cup of the other is wrong. The cup was meant to be filled by libations from the living, not from the dead.²

As I have said above, not all the Spartan steles in this series belong to the same class in regard to what they represent. It is only those of the earliest type, as given on plates 20, 22, 23, 24 in the second volume of the *Athenische Mittheilungen*, which I believe to be 'altar-reliefs' and to represent Hades and Persephone. Those which I will now take up do, I believe, represent the dead person, and are, what hitherto all the steles have been called, grave-steles.

A typical and very good example is the one published by Professor Furtwaengler.³ Here we see two main differences from the earlier type, — one making the stele more complicated, the other simplifying it. The latter consists in there being only one enthroned figure, in this case a bearded man; the former in that there are more attributes, and that they are used in a freer way. The man holds the kantharos and pomegranate, while the dog, which we have seen used before as an emblem, puts his forepaws on the man's knees in a very lifelike way. Besides this, in the upper corner, in front of the man, is a horse.⁴

These emblems are all chthonic, and the question is: Have we

¹ *Ἑρῆροι*, Frag. 1.

² In Massner's Catalogue of the Greek vases in Vienna a r-f. skyphos is represented, on one side of which Athena is shown filling a bowl held by Zeus, who is seated. The vase has been broken, and it is possible that the figures have been falsely restored. Such groups are extremely rare.

³ *Athen. Mitt.* vii. 160 ff., Pl. 7.

⁴ For the horse as a chthonic symbol, see Furtwaengler, *Athen. Mitt.* vii. 165 f.

here a representation of Hades or of a dead man? I follow Professor Furtwaengler in believing it to be the latter. There is no absolute proof one way or the other, but the indirect evidence in favor of the more earthly identification is sufficiently strong to permit us to consider the question as settled.

We see in this stele an example of that period of Greek art when, in all parts of Greece, even in inartistic Laconia, artists were gaining freedom in the expression of their ideas, and the unintelligent repetition of archaic types was being given up for more ambitious attempts at naturalistic representation. This stage of the progress of sculpture is, of course, best exhibited in Attica, owing to the greater mass of material that we have from there; but we see it plainly even in the broken records of sculpture in other parts of Greece. Hitherto art had been, in the main, hieratic or conventional. But now the idea sprang up that art was capable not only of serving religion but also of beautifying life. This was due, of course, to the expansion of the Greek intellect attendant upon stirring events both at home and abroad, and particularly to the fact that Greece began to play a more active part than heretofore in the world at large. She had long recognized the existence of *οἱ βάρβαροι*, but now she realized that it was possibly to her advantage to know them more intimately, and whether contemptible *βάρβαροι* or not, she woke up to the fact that they were not only capable of injuring her, but intended, if possible, to do so. Of these events the Persian Wars were the most important, and had the greatest influence on both the Greek character and art. Not only did the Greek artists gain a new source of inspiration for the exercise of artistic capacity in a materialistic fashion in the booty won from the Persians, but they must also have felt borne in on them with overwhelming force the fact, which had been illustrated again and again during the wars, that whatever powers the gods possessed they only helped those who helped themselves, and that perhaps blind Fate had less to say, and man himself more, in the ruling of this world than had been hitherto believed. And yet, such was the innate greatness of the Greek soul, that in gaining this new idea they lost nothing of their reverence for the gods. They gained, in fact, a more vivid and passionate belief in them; for had not the greatest

divinities of Olympus more than once showed themselves as the allies of the people who were struggling against what were, seemingly, invincible difficulties? Thus these new ideas were a gain to them on the side of their religion and also on that of their art; for was not man too, if even as nothing more than the beloved of the gods, worthy of the greatest and most lasting honor? And so it came about that with ever increasing frequency from this time on we find monuments, especially those set over the dead, representing people as they had lived. Maidens spin the thread through all eternity which had been broken all too soon in this life, and youths who died while fighting for their country go on forever winning the *ἀρετῆς μέρος μέγιστον*.

Thus it is that we need no longer expect, with comparative certainty, to find gods or goddesses represented on grave-monuments; and in the series we now are studying we no longer do so. The form, however, that such gravestones take in Laconia is naturally more conventional than that which we see elsewhere. Art never flourished there; and in places where the artistic impulse is feeble it is always more influenced by conventions and gives up types, which have become fixed by many generations of use, with more reluctance than is experienced elsewhere. This is illustrated by the stele published by Professor Furtwaengler. Knowing that Hades is represented on the older steles, we might suppose that the figure on this stele was the same, and that, as only a male figure is present, it was not what the earlier steles were — a monument of general import — but a grave-stele for a special man. That it was merely to commemorate one man is probably true, for, as we have seen, art and thought had now reached that stage where it was common to commemorate single persons. Secondly, we find steles of a later period, but of this same type, which from their inscriptions show that they are the gravestones of single men.¹ Although, as Professor Furtwaengler has shown in his article, all the symbols on the stele would suit Hades, yet there is one feature which cannot, I believe, be reconciled with the supposition that the figure is that of a god. This is the action of the dog, who is apparently trying

¹ Athen. Mitt. iv. Pl. 8. 1 and 2.

to get into the lap of the figure. Now, among the gravestones of another class, which I shall refer to later, we find very frequently steles of the purely commemorative type on which a youth or man is represented with a dog,¹ and sometimes playing with it.² In these a dog is introduced not (at least, not primarily) in a symbolic sense, but merely as a vivid illustration of the past life of the dead person. In this Spartan stele, however, it was used probably in part realistically and in part symbolically, owing to the artist not having been entirely free of religious conventions. The attitude, on the other hand, shows that the artist intended to represent a man, for the representation of a dog leaping on a god would be entirely without parallel.³ There is no difficulty either in the fact that he leaps on the figure of a person who, by the kantharos, is shown to be dead. Dogs are almost universally supposed to possess a singular prescience in regard to spirits of similar beings, as for instance when in the *Odyssey* Athene has made herself invisible:⁴

οὐδ' ἄρα Τηλέμαχος ἶδεν ἀντίον, οὐδ' ἐνόησεν·
οὐ γάρ πω πάντεσσι θεοὶ φαίνονται ἐναργεῖς·
ἀλλ' Ὀδυσσεύς τε, κύνες τε ἶδον.

It is true that we find animals very closely connected with divinities in a way similar to this, but there is, I believe, a distinct difference. The figures I refer to are those, such as the Persian Artemis, where the goddess (in other cases the god) holds two animals by the feet. In such cases the animal is always one that has some special significance in relation to the divinity. In this case, however, the dog is not a special symbol of Hades, and furthermore, he springs of his *own free will* on the figure, and is not treated, as in the other cases, as an inseparable attribute. It has been sug-

¹ Cf. Stackelberg, *Gräber der Hellenen*, Pl. ii. 2.

² Stele of Alxenor of Naxos, Friederichs-Wolters, 20.

³ Exekias painted a vase with a group of the Dioskouroi and others, and represented a dog fawning on one of the heroes. But these brothers were never considered in the same light as the great gods of Greece, and in this scene are treated in their purely human aspect. Cf. Wien. Vorlghl. 1888, iv. 1 A.

⁴ *Od.* xvi. 160 ff.

gested to me that the dog may be Kerberos, but was Kerberos ever regarded as a playful puppy?

Furthermore, that dogs were supposed to exist in the other world along with their masters seems a not unnatural deduction from Pindar's lines describing the lower world, which I have quoted above. But most probably the artist was trying to suggest two ideas, one that of a spirit asking for libations, the other of the former body of the spirit whose past life is brought to mind by the figure of the dog.

In this stele, then, we have an example of the class to which, of late, all the steles have been attributed; and the differences between it and the earlier type can only strengthen our belief that there were two distinct types of these steles in Laconia and elsewhere, one representing gods and one representing mortals, and that their purposes were distinct and different.

To be classed with this stele is one found in Boeotia and published in the *Athenische Mittheilungen*;¹ also another found in Poros,² and another in the collection at Ince Hall, in England.³ It is not known where this last one was found, and Michaelis in his description of it calls the figure Zeus. The lack of any attribute whatsoever is sufficient to throw doubt on its being Zeus; but this also makes it difficult to explain what it really is, and it is only by its general likeness to the other steles we have been studying that we are authorized to associate it with them.

This type continued for many centuries, the latest specimens of it being two very rude reliefs which have inscriptions, giving us the names of the two men represented as Timokles and Aristokles.⁴ That the Timokles relief is of late date has been questioned by Professor Furtwaengler,⁵ who considers it "Zweifelloos archaisch." I hold to the more usual opinion for the following reasons. The snake represented on it has not the archaic form, for he has neither *cista* nor scales on the lower half of his body, from throat to the tip of

¹ iii. 318.

² Athen. Mitt. vii. 170.

³ Arch. Ztg. 1874, p. 31, No. 259, Pl. v.

⁴ Athen. Mitt. iv. Pl. 8, p. 127, Nos. 4, 5. Cf. ii. 418.

⁵ Athen. Mitt. vii. 162.

the tail. The cuts in the drapery which indicate the folds are not so stiff and sharp as in the archaic steles, and the drapery as a whole is much freer, as is shown by the manner in which it falls over the left arm and between the arm and seat of the throne. The left hand is more natural and not so angular. The figure sits more comfortably and naturally on the throne, and not (cf. the Sabouroff stele) far forward on the seat with his back stiff and straight. Beside these differences in detail, there is one difference of a more general, but perhaps even more conclusive, character. One of the most marked and invariable characteristics of archaic art (I do not mean to include cheap terra-cottas or other such work) is the care with which it is executed, this showing itself both in the technique and in the composition and good proportion of the figures. In the figure under consideration the technique is wretched, the proportions ludicrous; and its only good quality, that of composition, is plagiarized from the earlier works. The incapacity of the artist can be well seen by comparing the throne with that of the Sabouroff stele. The two are of the same design, even in details, but it needs no explanation to show how much superior the earlier is to the later one.

There still remains one more class of these Spartan reliefs which was extremely common in other parts of Greece. There is a fragment¹ representing the upper half of the body of an armed youth behind whom is the inscription ΚΟΡΟΙ ΘΙΟΚΛΕΝΑΜ, which Milchhöfer explains as οἱ Κόροι Θιόκλην Ἄμ—, in other words that it is a votive relief to a hero. The reading: (τοὶ) Κόροι Θιοκλή Ναμ[ερα], given in the Berlin Catalogue, is better. There is no reason to consider the relief anything but an ordinary grave-stele.

There is another relief of the same sort,² but of later date, which has an inscription in the second word of which occurs the laconism of Σ for Θ; it is to be read Μίλκοι ἀνέθηκε Τύχα.

In the same article³ on Laconian sculptures in which Milchhöfer published the statue with the inscription Δεὸς or Ἀιδεὺς, he also

¹ Athen. Mitt. ii. 314, Pl. 25. Cf. Arch. Ztg. 1881, p. 294. Berlin Cat. of Sculpture, 732.

² Arch. Ztg. 1881, p. 294, M.

³ Arch. Ztg. 1881, p. 293 f., Pl. xvii. 2.

published a stele on which we see a bearded man, his hair bound by a fillet, standing upright to the left. In his right hand he holds a kantharos; in his left, a pomegranate (?). His right leg is bent at the knee. In front of him is a snake wriggling upwards, and with its head over the kantharos. As Milchhöfer says, this was probably a grave-stelè. This represents the last stage of the Spartan steles. We see that it is a development from the earlier reliefs, but almost all traces of its predecessors have disappeared, the hieratic influence showing itself only in details; we have simply a representation of the dead man. Owing to the conditions of art in Laconia this stele — which dates from the time when purely naturalistic representations of the dead had, in other parts of Greece, become very common — shows us this naturalistic tendency, struggling to free itself from conventional types. The man stands in a natural, easy position, but in one hand he holds the kantharos to show that he wishes libations to be made him, while in front of him is the snake, — the symbol of the soul. It is neither purely naturalistic nor purely religious, and because of this very combination of opposing ideas is extremely interesting. On the one hand we see that tendency towards representing the dead as they had appeared in life, which had become common all over Greece. It shows itself in the position in which the figure stands, and in the cut of the beard and hair, which are no longer, as in the earlier reliefs, made to fall according to a fixed pattern, but have a more natural appearance. On the other hand we see the strength with which religion had impressed its outward symbols on the art of Laconia in the presence of the attributes that the figure holds, and of the snake, which the artist, with his realistic tendency, must have felt to be absurd. Finally, owing to the stagnation of art in this part of Greece, we see the artist himself unable to get free of the traditions as to technique which prevailed in the Spartan school, for the figure and the folds in the drapery are cut on the block in exactly the same way that we see them on the earliest of all the Spartan steles. The artist tried to do better than his predecessors, but both religion and custom hampered him.

We have now come to the end of our study of these Spartan reliefs and have obtained the following result: The steles do not

all belong to the same class, but form a progressive series. This progression is a *mental* one, and was almost undoubtedly (though the smallness of the series does not allow us to state this absolutely) also a chronological one. The earliest class is intimately connected with the worship of the dead, which we know was an important part of the Spartan religion. From this class, which were not grave-steles in the proper sense of the term, but were a sort of 'altar'-relief (similar in purpose to the altar-pictures of Christian churches), were developed two classes, both in type closely connected with their source. One of these was votive in character, the other was a class of actual grave-steles, — steles made, that is to say, with the primary intention of commemorating during succeeding ages a particular individual. Finally, from this class was developed — at the time when, owing to the course history had taken, Greece had awaked to the idea of her own capacities and importance — a type of grave-stele which was less hieratic and more naturalistic in character, and to which there are extremely close analogies in other parts of Greece.

II.

If now we search, in more northern parts of Greece, for illustrations of the same types of gravestones as those we have been studying, we find in places such as Attica — where religion was as strong a motive power in the daily life of the inhabitants as in Laconia, and led to the creation of religious monuments which were never equalled elsewhere in Greece, and have, in the later history of the world, seldom been equalled and never been surpassed — still that the type of gravestone used was almost exclusively the purely commemorative one. This type is, however, broken up into innumerable smaller classes. Men are represented as warriors, athletes, priests, or in everyday costume, and maidens and older women are also shown as they had appeared in life. On the earlier steles, however, we often find attributes of a religious significance, but these gradually disappear, leaving only the simple picture of the life that had gone. In technique, on the other hand, we find certain differences, most of them dependent on the different artistic capacity of the various parts of Greece, but one of them, that of the use of paint-

ing instead of carving, exhibits an entirely new method. Such differences have nothing to do with the essential meaning of the grave-stones, and consequently I shall pay but little attention to them.

The shapes of the steles already mentioned are not always the same, but the meaning, with the differences to be noted, remains constant. Hence, in the following argument, I shall pay little consideration to the technique or to the shape of the monuments. These insignificant matters have often been studied but to little purpose. The chief gain to be derived from studying these grave-reliefs is the obtaining a closer insight into the ideas of the Greeks in regard to life and death, and this is to be got only from studying their meaning and not their technique. The study of their form may enable us to date them, but to classify them according to date and form can lead only to confusion and indecision; for many of the various ideas which we shall see exemplified, were co-existent at the same period, and are interwoven one with another. As, however, the meaning is dependent on the figures, these afford the means of making a simple distinction that agrees, in large measure, with differences in date.

The meaning must almost of necessity be different (and as a matter of fact it generally is) according as the stele has one or more figures represented on it; and with the simpler stele is connected the simpler meaning. For this reason I will first consider the single-figure steles, which are always of the purely commemorative type, although the figures sometimes have attributes of religious significance. These attributes are, however, of secondary importance.

The simplest of all the steles are the painted ones on which the only inscription is the name of the dead person, as that of Antiphanos or of Theron.¹ We may fairly suppose these steles usually to have been decorated, but we are left in the dark, owing to the disappearance of the paint, as to the question whether the decoration was of symbolic figures, such as the cock and dog on the Antiphanos stele, or of a (to us) more intelligible character. It is plain that no question can arise in regard to the object of such steles as these, which are the simplest sort of commemorative monument.

¹ Conze, *Attische Grabreliefs*, Pl. xiii., xiv.

Next in simplicity to these come the steles, of which we have large numbers from various parts of Greece, which represent the dead man or woman perfectly simply, as they were in life.¹ This class occurs again and again in all periods of Greek art. As belonging to the more archaic period may be mentioned the stele of the Aris-tion, which is typical of a large class of steles showing warriors.²

The occurrence of warriors on grave-steles over and over again, in this and the following centuries, is easily explicable. We have already seen that the grave-monument was considered the *γέρας θανόντων*. Furthermore, the noblest death a Greek could suffer was to die fighting for his country :

χάλκαςπις ϕ πότμον μὲν Ἄρης ἔμιξεν,
τιμὰ δ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἀντίκειται,³

Such a death also proclaimed his bravery to all the world, for,

Ἄρης δ' οὐκ ἀγαθῶν φεῖδεται, ἀλλὰ κακῶν⁴.

Hence we see how natural was this representation of the man as he had last appeared to his friends on earth on a gravestone of simple commemorative character.

It will be well to pause a moment and to consider the literary evidence in regard to the honor in which death in battle was held, for it will help to account for the evident pride which even the common soldier in those days took in his calling — a pride which it is hard, nowadays, to find quite the same grounds for. This feeling originated primarily in the fact of the division of Greece into many states — a division which affected every branch of life. It was not merely that such a death gave proof of courage; but, owing to the small size of the states into which Greece was divided and to the difficulty of intercourse between cities distant from one another, the spirit of local patriotism was intense. Every man felt that the state he belonged to was truly his mother, and he fought for her

¹ These are so well known and so numerous as to make it unnecessary for me to mention more than a few to illustrate my arguments. Cf. Conze, *Att. Grabrel.* Pl. ii.-viii.; Athen. Mitt. viii. p. 84, Pl. ii.-iv.

² Cf. Conze, *Att. Grabrel.* Pl. i., ii., v., vi., viii.

³ Pind. *Isth.* vi. 25.

⁴ Anth. Pal. vii. 160.

with a different spirit from that possible to a man who is fighting as a mercenary for some cause utterly foreign to his personal interests. Only by remembering this can we understand the full meaning of these steles or of such lines as,

Ἀκμῶς ἑστακυῖαν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν
ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς κείμεθα ῥυσάμενοι
νάσφ' ἐν ἀγχιάλῳ Σαλαμινία· ἃ δὲ Κόρινθος
ἄμμιν τὰς ἀρετὰς μνάμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.¹

This feeling is still more strongly shown by the following:

Ἐὶ τὸ καλῶς θνήσκεν ἀρετῆς μέρος ἐστὶ μέγιστον
ἡμῖν ἐκ πάντων τοῦτ' ἀπένειμε τύχη·
Ἑλλάδι γὰρ σπεύδοντες ἐλευθερίαν περιθεῖναι
κείμεθ' ἀγηράτῳ χρώμενοι εὐλογίᾳ.²

These lines show us plainly why the warrior was represented on his gravestone fully armed, rather than in the garb of peace.

Of a later period than the last mentioned steles, and coming from Pella in the northern part of Greece, is the warrior stele published by Brun in the *Athenische Mittheilungen*.³ A second stele of the same sort⁴ is also published by Brunn, in which we get a slight addition to the type in the presence of a religious symbol—in this case, a cock. Such symbols frequently occur, but they always occupy very secondary positions and do not affect the essential character of the stele. They are nothing but a faint suggestion of the religious rites due the dead, or perhaps to the gods of the dead. The steles of Lisas the Tegean,⁵ who was buried at Tatoi, not far from Athens, and that of Aristonautes,⁶ who is in full armor, show us the warrior charging forward against his enemy, the representation of whom the sculptor has left to the beholder's imagination.

Still another from Athens, and one of the most famous, is that of

¹ Preger, *Inscriptiones Graecae Metricae*, 5.

² Preger, *ibid.* 8.

³ viii. 81, Pl. iv.

⁴ *Id.* Pl. iii.

⁵ Bul. de Cor. Hel. iv. 408, Pl. 7.

⁶ Kabbadias, *Κατάλογος Ἑθνικοῦ Μουσείου*, 738.

Dexileos, which is still *in situ*.¹ Dexileos died in 394 B.C., fighting the Corinthians, and it is thus that the sculptor has represented him. Mounted on his horse, his cloak fluttering behind him, he charges his prostrate enemy. This is a capital example to show that neither the form of the stele nor the number of persons represented gives us a safe guide for classifying these monuments, for here we have a type of the *naiskos* form of stele and a composition of two figures, yet the meaning of the stele is exactly the same as that of the earlier and simpler monuments.²

In a yet later period we find the same warrior type in the stele from Kleitor in Arcadia.³ In this, as in one of the steles from Larissa published by Brunn, the soldier is represented praying.

Another class of steles which occurs with similar frequency is that which represents athletes. The best known of these is the fragment showing us a diskos-thrower.⁴ Later is the figure of Agathokles.⁵ He stands with his strigil in one hand and his dog beside him. The position of the dog is noteworthy, for he is seated on the ground with his nose high in the air—a position a dog takes only when he is howling. Whether the sculptor really meant to represent the dog as sorrowing for his lost master or whether it was lack of skill that led him to carve the dog in this awkward position, we cannot decide with certainty. When, however, we consider how frequently the dog is represented on these steles as the companion of the dead person, also the idea held by the Greeks relative to dogs and spirits as shown in the passage I have quoted above from Homer, and finally how (as every one knows) dogs continually show an almost human understanding when their masters die,—if we remember this it is not unnatural to suppose that the sculptor wished to represent the sorrow of the dog.

Another such stele is that of Prikon,⁶ who stands with his hima-

¹ For similar steles, cf. Arch. Ztg. 1863, Pl. 69, 70; Kabbadias, Kar. 'Eθv. Movσ. 754.

² Cf. the stele of Alkias, Athen. Mitt. 1886, Pl. v. S. 150.

³ Athen. Mitt. vii. 154, Pl. v.

⁴ Conze, Att. Grabrel. iv.; Kabbadias, Kar. 'Eθv. Movσ. 38.

⁵ Kabbadias, Kar. 'Eθv. Movσ. 742.

⁶ *Ibid.* 730.

tion about him, and with strigil and oil-flask in his hands. The most probable explanation of this type is, not that Prikon was a great athlete, but simply that he died in the bloom of youth, the strigil and oil-flask being merely emblematic of that exercise which every Greek youth enjoyed. A stele such as this forms a link between the steles on which the dead person seems to be presented to us, as in the case of the diskos-thrower or Agakles,¹ as an athlete accomplished in some special sport, and those which represent the dead quite simply as they had lived. Another such link is shown us in the scene of two boys, one of them playing with a ball.² We can scarcely suppose the youth, to whom the stele was undoubtedly set up, to have been an athlete, but rather that it merely shows the boy to have died young,—at the period of life when games were his chief pleasure.

In another class the trade which the dead man had pursued during his lifetime is shown us by the stele, as in the case of the cobbler Xanthippos and his children, now in the British Museum.³ Xanthippos and the two children are a group taken directly from life, the sculptor's sole purpose being to represent this shoemaker as he had lived. We also have the grave-inscription of a goldsmith, Gourgos.⁴

The monument of the wine merchant Tokkes, from Aphyte,⁵ is another of the same sort. Its only peculiarity is that it is painted and not carved. I have put this stele without hesitation in this class that represents trades, but there is another possibility in regard to its interpretation. The amphora that Tokkes holds with one hand may simply be a symbol of a happy life, as in the case of Myrtada, on whose stele was written:

ἀλλὰ πίθος μοι
σύμβολον εὐφροσύνης, τερπνὸς ἔπεισι τάφος.⁶

¹ Athen. Mitt. 1880, Pl. vi.

² Bul. de Cor. Hel. vii. Pl. xix.

³ Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. 119; Brueckner, Orn. und Form der att. Grabst. Pl. ii. 2.

⁴ Kaibel, Epigrammata Graeca ex Lapidibus collecta, No. 46. Cf. Berlin Catalogue of Sculpture, 789, 790.

⁵ Athen. Mitt. 1880, p. 185, Pl. vi.; Kabbadias, Κατ. 'Εθν. Μουσ. 1002.

⁶ Anth. Pal. vii. 329.

The quieter side of life also does not lack its representation, and we find figures of youths reading,¹ or playing on the lyre,² reminding us of the lines:

πάτρα Μίλητος τίκτει Μούσαισι ποθεινόν
Τιμόθεον κιθάρας δεξιὸν ἡνίοχον.³

Another stele on which a musician was represented was that of the flute-player Telephanes, of whom is said: . . . πλεῖστον γέρας εἶλετο θνητῶν. These steles and inscriptions are interesting as showing the simple and direct way the Greek chose for commemorating the dead. It is to be noted that it is the exception when we find the age or other secondary details mentioned.

One might go on almost indefinitely mentioning instances where, owing to the straightforwardness and simplicity of the Greek, we are enabled to picture to ourselves the life of the dead person in a way which will be the envy of the archaeologist of future ages, who shall tire himself reading on modern gravestones the conventional lists of virtues, under which the individual character is hidden more completely than the body below is hidden in the earth. I will mention but a few more.

Of the same general character as the foregoing steles, but not exhibiting any one particular phase of the character of the deceased man or woman, are those on which a simple figure is carved, and nothing more. They seem to say, "I was a maiden," or "I was a youth," in the same way that on the early vases the artist often takes the trouble, in order that we may be in no doubt about it, to write the names beside the various objects he drew.⁴

Among the earliest of these are the painted steles which have been discussed by Loeschcke⁵ and Milchhöfer.⁶ The best preserved

¹ Ann. del Inst. 1855, Pl. 15, 16; Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. 121. Cf. Kabbadias, *Kar. 'Eθν. Μουσ.* 817.

² Athen. Mitt. 1892, S. 433, Pl. xi.

³ Preger, *Inscriptiones Graecae Metricae*, 10.

⁴ On the stele of Polyxena we find the very words I have suggested. The inscription is: Πολυξενάλα ἐμμυ. Cf. Athen. Mitt. viii. 81 f.

⁵ Athen. Mitt. iv. 36 f., 289 f., Pl. 1-4.

⁶ Athen. Mitt. 1880, S. 164 f., Pl. vi. On S. 190 is a list of those in Athens. Cf. Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. i.; vi. 2; xvi.

of them, that commemorative of the priest Lyseas, is in Athens.¹ The figure stands erect, turned toward the right. He is dressed in his long priest's robes, and holds in his left hand the sacrificial branches, in his right hand a kantharos. At first sight it might be thought this stele had some religious signification, but this is not the case. The figure is nothing more than one of the innumerable pictures of priests that occur on vases, made life-size, and painted on a tall narrow slab of marble, and is strictly commemorative. Below the figure of Lyseas is another scene, which has led to several explanations. It is that of a youth riding a horse at full speed to the right; on the further side of this figure, and slightly behind him, are visible the remains of another horse and rider. Loeschcke originally explained this scene as perhaps reminiscent of some victory obtained by the dead Lyseas in athletic games. Furtwaengler, however, says² that the horse is simply used symbolically, and has nothing to do with the rank as citizen or with the deeds of the deceased, an opinion to which Loeschcke has acceded.³ Conze⁴ believed the figure to be the sculptor's method of showing the position and wealth of the family of the dead person. Although Furtwaengler and Milchhöfer have shown beyond all doubt that the horse was a favorite symbol to indicate a heroised mortal, still I think the earlier opinion held by Loeschcke to be the correct one. If we look at the painted pictures⁵ on the steles, and similar carved ones, we see in one case a horse-race, in another a man in armor mounted on his horse, and on another a youth crowning the horse.⁶ Now these scenes do not suit the character of heroised horsemen as we see them on votive reliefs, where they are generally in attitudes

¹ Kabbadias, *Kar. 'Eθv. Movσ.* 30.

² Einleitung zu der Sam. Sab. p. 36.

³ *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1887, p. 277. Cf. also Milchhöfer, *Athen. Mitt.* 1879, p. 167, where he retracts his earlier opinion, which was (*Museen Athens*, S. 41 f.) that the horseman referred to the games at the burial of the deceased.

⁴ *Att. Grabrel.* i. 4.

⁵ Conze, *Att. Grabrel.* Pl. i., ix., x.

⁶ *Id.* Pl. ix. Cf. the same scene on coins of Tarentum, Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. xi. 3, 4. Cf. also coins of Philip II. of Macedon, *Head's Coins of the Ancients*, p. 197, fig. 138.

of comparative repose; and the fact (if it be true) that horses occur sometimes on the grave-steles of women,¹ does not alter the fact that in the case of these Attic steles they are shown by their riders to be real horses and not symbols. They are merely an additional commemoration of the past life of the person who is represented above them.

The fact that with but one exception the few predella-scenes of this sort which we have represent horsemen, must not lead us to suppose that their meaning is a general and religious one, and not that which I have mentioned; because when these were made grave-steles were by no means set up over every grave, and it is not outside the range of probability to suppose that the half-dozen we have were of men famous in the games. Furthermore, on one² we find a sphinx, which has most probably a religious significance. That is to say, there are two classes of these scenes,—one religious, one (the horsemen) having the same meaning in regard to the dead person as the strigil and oil-flask have to the athletes.

The steles of women to which I have just referred were found in Boeotia; but before we draw any conclusions from them there is need of considerable more proof than has as yet been brought forward that they were grave-steles. Körte, in an article in the *Athenische Mittheilungen*,¹ says that they are—but for the fact that women and not men are carved upon them—of exactly the same character as the reliefs which Furtwaengler has proved, without doubt, to be simple votive reliefs to heroes. Their size and the frequent presence of altars on them, to say nothing of their bearing inscriptions such as ἐπ' Ἐ[ρ]μύνορα ἦρωι, are quite sufficient to make us doubt their having been true gravestones, and to make us believe they were nothing but votive heroine-reliefs.

It might be supposed that a manifold representation of the dead person's life would not occur,—that Lyseas, for instance, would not be presented to us as an athlete as well as a priest. We have, however, one certain example of such representation on a stele of the fifth century B.C., on which are carved three of the large

¹ Einl. zu der Sam. Sab. p. 39, Athen. Mitt. iii. 373 f.

² Conze, Pl. 10.

stone grave-vases which were so common. On each of the two of these that still remain is carved a different scene.¹ There is no reason to suppose that this more complicated type of representation had sprung up in the short period that separates this later stele from the painted ones.

Other simple figures similar to those of which we have already spoken occur in other parts of Greece. From Boeotia we see Gathon and Aristokrates² standing side by side. In this case we have, perhaps, a religious symbol, introduced (as has already been seen in other cases) in the shape of an apple which one of the figures holds. On the other hand, it may be merely a love token. Another well-known and exceptionally ugly monument is that of Dermys and Kitylos,³ who stand side by side, each with an arm about the other's neck. This strong expression of affection may be an early and crude device for showing the same feeling that we see again and again in later Attic steles.

The stele of which Alxenor was so proud,⁴ as he tells us in the inscription on it, shows us the dead man playing with his dog — a motive that occurs very often. A stele similar to this is in Naples.⁵ Interesting in comparison with these last, as showing the great advance which sculpture made during the fifth century in Greece, is the very fine stele from Carystos.⁶ A fragment of a superb stele is in the *Sammlung Sabouroff*.⁷ In this case the man was not improbably, as Professor Furtwaengler says, playing with a dog.

Hitherto I have spoken mainly of steles commemorative of men, but though in the more archaic period they far outnumber those of women, yet these latter grow more and more common during the course of the fifth century. They are of precisely the same character as the steles for men; that is to say, they show the dead woman as she had been in life.

¹ Bul. de Cor. Hel. iv. 339 f.

² Athen. Mitt. iii. 311, Pl. 15; Kabbadias, *Kar. 'Eθν. Μουσ.* 32.

³ Kabbadias, *Kar. 'Eθν. Μουσ.* 56.

⁴ *Ibid.* 32.

⁵ Fried.-Wol. 21.

⁶ Sam. Sab. Pl. vi.

⁷ Pl. ii.

Professor Furtwaengler in the *Einleitung zu der Sammlung Sabouroff* says, speaking of the steles of this period as opposed to the earlier ones, that they show: "Jene zweite Richtung der sepulchralen Kunst bei den Griechen . . . welche den Todten darstellt wie er im Leben war,"¹ and on the following page says that the idea expressed by them is "die Todten zwar als Todte, aber wie Lebende darzustellen." This view has been combated by Brueckner.² I hold to Brueckner's view and cannot see, especially in regard to the single-figure steles, whether the figures are seated or standing, and the simpler steles on which more than one figure is represented, that there is any reason to believe that the figures are anything but simple images of the dead person as she or he had lived.

We get a very clear idea of the future world, as the Greeks believed it, from Pindar, and one that, at first sight, might seem to give some strength to the theory advanced by Professor Furtwaengler. Pindar says:³

τοῖσι λάμπει μὲν μένος ἁελίου τὰν ἐνθάδε νύκτα κάτω,
φοινικορόδοις δ' ἐνὶ λειμώνεσσι προάστιον αὐτῶν
καὶ λιβάνη σκιαρὸν καὶ χρυσέοις καρποῖς βεβριθός.
καὶ τοὶ μὲν ἵπποις γυμνασίοις τε, τοὶ δὲ πεσσοῖς,
τοὶ δὲ φορμίγγεσσι τέρονται, παρὰ δὲ σφισιν εἰανθῆς
ἅπας τέθαλεν ὄλβος.

ὁδμὰ δ' ἐρατὸν κατὰ χῶρον κίδναται
αἰεὶ θύα μιν γύντων πυρὶ τηλεφανεῖ παντοῖα θεῶν ἐπὶ βωμοῖς.

Now, from this it might be inferred that the steles of gymnasts, for example, were pictures of the life hereafter. This, however, is not, I believe, a justifiable deduction. We have seen that the steles of gymnasts, of tradesmen, of warriors, of priests, are all of one general type, showing men in the different occupations of life; and if we can show that several of these classes cannot by any possibility represent the underworld, it will be safe, as long as there is no

¹ i. 39.

² Von den Griechischen Grabreliefs, p. 15 ff.

³ Pind. Frag. Θρήνοι, 1.

evidence to the contrary, to assume this for the others. The keynote of Pindar's description is contained in the words *παρὰ δὲ σφισιν εὐανθὴς ἅπας τέθαλεν ὄλβος*, and this same idea is contained in another fragment¹ in which, contrasting the lot of the blessed with that of the cursed, the poet says :

Ψυχὰι
εὐσεβέων δ' ἐπουράνιοι νόοισαι
μολπαῖς μάκαρα μέγαν αἰδόντ' ἐν ὕμνοις.

It occurs again in fragment 5.²

Now if we look at pictures of the lower world on vases, we get the same idea of the happiness there. On the Canosa vase, in Munich,³ with the exception of one or two scenes of mythological character, such as Sisyphos and Herakles carrying off Kerberos, we have nothing but illustrations of the Pindaric idea of everlasting happiness. This mythologic element, which as I have just noted in the case of Sisyphos and Herakles, destroys indeed in a large measure the value of such paintings as evidence for the post-mortem existence of mortals ; for instead of being primarily representations of the life hereafter, such as was to be led by everybody, they are in fact rather to be regarded as illustrations of Greek mythology. The most marked case of this is to be found in Pausanias' ⁴ description of the painting by Polygnotos, in Delphi, which seems to have been little else than a series of pictures illustrative of stories found in Greek authors. The vase from Ruvo, now in Karlsruhe,⁵ is little more than a replica of the Munich vase. The idea of happiness expressed by Pindar and shown on the vases is not the chief idea that the steles and the inscriptions on them suggest. Consequently, although, as I have said, one might imagine the steles of gymnasts to represent scenes in the lower world (though the gravity of the figures and the howling dogs lessen this impression), still the evi-

¹ Frag. *Θρήνοι*, 3.

² Cf. Anth. Pal. xi. 42, Lucian, *Περὶ Πένθους*. For the philosopher's abstraction of these ideas, see Plato, *Phaedo*, 110, A.

³ Muller-Wiessler, *Denkmäler d. alten Kunst*, i. Pl. lvi.; Arch. Ztg. 1843, p. 193. Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, Pl. 87.

⁴ i. 10. 28.

⁵ Mon. del. Inst. ii. 49; Arch. Ztg. 1843, p. 193.

dence prohibits absolutely our supposing steles representing battle, such as that of Dexileos or of Lisas, or hunting scenes, as that on the stele of Artemidoros,¹ or men seated on the prow of a boat, to be anything but representative of this world. In regard to these fighting scenes, we have positive evidence from Lucian that they can only be in this world. In his sarcastic essay, *Περὶ Πένθους*,² Lucian puts the following words into the mouth of the dead son, who is quoting his father: οἶχῃ μοι κακοδαίμων ἐκφυγὼν τὰς νόσους, οὐ πυρετὸν ἔτι δεδιώς, οὐ πολέμιον, οὐ τύραννον. Furthermore, though steles with musicians might be supposed to be pictures of the next world, we cannot imagine that the wine merchant Tokkes would be thought of as peddling his wine to the spirits of the dead men, or that Xanthippos would find much cobbling to be done in the Elysian Fields. Such scenes *must* be of this world.

Another argument used by Professor Furtwaengler to show that the scenes on the reliefs were meant to represent the next world, is³ that there is "kaum eine Spur oder Andeutung von Trauer" to be seen on these steles. As a general rule, this is true; but it is due chiefly, I believe, to the restraint in the representation of all passion, which is a necessary quality of all greatest art and is as noticeable in the best art of the Renaissance in Italy as in that of Greece, not to the fact that these scenes are pictures of the happy life to come. It was not consistent with Greek ideas that grief (at least, that of a man) should be violently expressed. This is illustrated by the passage in Sophokles⁴ where, in telling of the death of Oidipous, the messenger says of Theseus that:

. ὥς ἀνὴρ γενναῖος, οὐκ οἴκτου μέτα
κατήνεσεν.

This explains why the men on the grave-steles show signs of emotion less often than the other figures.

¹ In Athens. Not yet catalogued. The figure is attacking a wild boar among trees and rocks. Second century B.C.

² *Περὶ Πένθ.* 19.

³ Einl. zu der Sam. Sab. p. 41.

⁴ Oed. Col. 1636 f. Cf. Eur. Alc. 904.

There are, however, instances of violent grief being shown; as, for example, by the two women on an archaic stele-base in Athens.¹ No one can doubt that their tearing of their hair is significant of grief. Now such passionate signs of grief we should not expect to find in the later and finer art, but even there we find something to take its place. Above the figures on a stele in the Sammlung Sabouroff² we see a siren tearing her hair, and this occurs more than once.³ What was extravagant emotion for a man or woman was not felt by the Greek to be so for a being half human, half bird. Then, too, what was unbecoming a free man was not so for a slave, and we often find such figures showing unmistakable signs of grief.⁴

To resume our consideration of the simpler steles of women. As we have seen that men were represented in their everyday garb, so do we find maidens also shown us in this simple way. One of the simplest of such monuments is that in Bologna,⁵ where the maiden holds her dress in much the same way as the female statues found on the Acropolis in Athens. Further we find the maiden Tito seated,⁶ bending her head sadly forward over her hand, or again Artemisia,⁷ who looks quietly out into space. Melite, too, looks straight forward, her gaze directed vaguely far beyond us who look at her, her pose and expression quiet as of one sunk in thought.⁸ Such figures as these lend strength to the belief that they are pictures of the living, for why should the dead, who, having drunk the waters of Lethe, were enjoying everlasting bliss, be shown

¹ Conze, Att. Grabrel. xi.; Kabbadias, *Kar. 'Eθv. Movσ.* 41.

² Pl. xxi.

³ Cf. Brueckner, *Orn. und Form d. Att. Grabst.* Pl. i. 15; Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. 105. 36. 63 (299); Kabbadias, *Kar. 'Eθv. Movσ.* 983; Athen. Mitt. 12, Pl. ix. Arch. Ztg. 1874, 149.

⁴ Conze, *id.* Pl. 66; 72; Ann. dell Inst. 1876, Tav. d'agg. G. Professor Furtwaengler disregards this evidence, saying that they "nicht eigentliche Personen, sondern nur Attribute sind"! I will ask any one who thinks that no grief is shown on these monuments to read the grave-inscriptions in the Greek Anthology. These inscriptions, taken in many cases from grave-steles now lost, prove conclusively that Professor Furtwaengler's idea is incorrect.

⁵ Antike Denkmäler herausgegeben von d. D. Arch. Inst. Pl. 35. 1. 1888.

⁶ *Id.* Pl. xix.

⁷ Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. 18.

⁸ Kabbadias, *Kar. 'Eθv. Movσ.* 720.

so grave and sad? Sadness, or rather gravity, is the natural expression for those who are alive and have to struggle daily with the contradictoriness of this life,

ἐπεὶ πολλὰ μὲν αἱ μακραὶ ἡμέραι κατέθεντο δὴ
λύπας ἐγγυτέρω,¹

but it is surely an unnatural expression for those who can no longer even imagine sorrow.

One of the most beautiful of these steles is that in Venice in the Casa Giustiniani alle Zattere. In this case the maiden is standing upright taking something out of a box.² This motive, sometimes combined with others, occurs very frequently on the steles. We see it on that of Philis,³ the only difference being that Philis is seated and not standing. Later on we find it recurring in the case of Hegeso⁴ and then again in that of Ameiniche.⁵ Once more in an uninscribed stele,⁶ where mother and daughter are unmistakably sorrowful, the one seems loath to give the box, the other loath to take it. This gravity is not that which we find imbuing all fifth-century work, for in these cases it is combined with gestures and attitudes which make it distinct from the expression that is shown by such figures as are on the Parthenon frieze. In the latter case the expression is due to the feeling of pride in their own splendor and occupation which the figures (for we may treat a great artist's creations as truly living) felt.

In the case of Ameinokleia⁷ we find the motive slightly changed, and this change perhaps gives us a clue to the frequent occurrence of this box on the steles. Ameinokleia stands gracefully poised, while a servant puts on her sandal; near by a maiden, not a slave

¹ Soph. Oed. Col. 1215.

² Einl. zu der Sam. Sab. p. 6; Alte Denk. 1888, Pl. 35. There is in the Museum in Athens, still uncatalogued, the upper part of a stele similar in all essentials to the one in Venice.

³ Ann. del. Inst. 1872, Pl. L.

⁴ Still *in situ* in the Dipylon, in Athens.

⁵ Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἑθν. Μουσ. 764; Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. 34 (73).

⁶ Conze, Pl. 31.

⁷ Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἑθν. Μουσ. 718.

but probably the daughter of the dead Ameinokleia, holds the box. Now, if we attempt to explain this scene by Professor Furtwaengler's theory that these steles always represent scenes in the next world, we find ourselves in trouble. Shall we suppose Ameinokleia carried her jewels with her to the everflowering meads and that her daughter and servant had died before her? Such a scene, if we regard it as in the future world, has no appropriate significance. Indeed Solon said:

τὰ γὰρ περιώσια πάντα
χρήματ' ἔχων οὐδεὶς ἔρχεται εἰς Ἀΐδew.¹

Even with Pindar's verses which I have quoted before us we cannot suppose that it was the common belief that maidens took their ornaments with them in Charon's boat. Why make trouble for ourselves? Why not interpret this scene in the simple and natural way as being a representation of the beginning of the last long journey from which there is no return? Surely, that will explain the sadness of the daughter and the gravity of the mother better than if we put the scene in another world.

Among other steles that show us the maiden in this simple form is one from Paros, where the figure plays with two doves.² Professor Furtwaengler suggests that this figure is a development of the early type of goddess holding a dove. They are, however, used in such a realistic way that it seems to me likely, when we remember how frequently children and older people are shown on the steles as playing with birds,³ that the artist was merely using a common motive without any ulterior religious idea.

Still another, and one of the most beautiful of all, is the stele of Mynno,⁴ who with wool basket at her side sits twisting the woollen thread between her fingers.⁵ Long since the Fates cut short the thread, the whirr of the spindle stopped, but Mynno spins on the

¹ Pomtow, *Poet. Lyr. Graec. Min.* i. p. 135, No. 21.

² Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 229, No. 19.

³ Brueckner, *Orn. und Form d. Att. Grabstel.* Pl. ii. 5; Kabbadias, *Kat. 'Eθν. Μουσ.* 715. Many others are to be found in Conze, *Att. Grabrel.*

⁴ Sam. Sab. Pl. 19.

⁵ Cf. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr. ex Lap. conl.* 470.

broken thread forever. This again seems to me nothing but a scene from life and not one from the future world, for I believe we have no evidence that a woman's household duties, such as spinning, were continued after death. The spindle is emblematic in exactly the same way as the strigil on the steles of youths.

As in the case of the men so here, too, we occasionally find types that show us a religious motive. One of the earliest steles of a woman is that found in the Piraeus.¹ The woman is seated, and holds in one hand a bird, in the other a cup, — both religious symbols.² The type is undoubtedly influenced by early images of goddesses. Much later is the relief of a maiden still *in situ* in the Dipylon. In one hand she holds an oinochoe, while with the other she makes the gesture of prayer. Of Roman times (and yet very fine) is a stele now in the museum in Athens³ representing a priestess of Isis named Alexandra, the wife of Ktitos. She stands on the right side of the stele, of which the left side, as well as the raised right hand of Alexandra, are gone. It has been suggested that her hand rested on her husband's shoulder, but so little of the stele is broken off that it is impossible to suppose that another figure stood beside her. Another supposition is that she held a sistrion, but may not her hand simply have been raised in the attitude of prayer?

Though we have seen that Pindar thought that sacrifices were made in the lower world, still when we remember the analogies between the steles of worshippers I have just considered and the much earlier memorial reliefs and the hero-reliefs (where there is no doubt that the sacrifices being made are of this world) of the same periods as these steles, I cannot see why we should not take it for granted that these steles also represent life and not death.

There are distinctly religious steles, however, on which we see Hermes Psychopompos leading away the dead person from his living friends. An example of this is afforded by the stele on which

¹ Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. 35, No. 36; Kabbadias, *Kat. 'Eθν. Μουσ.* 711.

² It is only where the bird is connected with children, or in a case, such as that above mentioned, of the maiden with two doves, that I would suggest that it is probably not a religious symbol.

³ Not yet catalogued by Kabbadias, but see Arch. Zeit. 1871, p. 17, No. 3.

Hermes is leading away the dead Myrrhine from her still living family.¹ It might be thought that Hermes was leading the maiden towards her already dead family, who are waiting to greet her in the lower world. If this were so, however, Hermes would not be represented at full stride, for when the goal is approached one lessens one's pace; furthermore, the sad turn of Myrrhine's head shows she is leaving those she loved, not meeting them. It is important to notice this, because it not only shows us a scene of parting, but also (in this case at least) that the secondary personages are *not* thought of, as Professor Furtwaengler says, as "künftigen Verstorbene." The single thought shown by the stele is the grief and separation caused by death. The presence of Hermes is no reason for belief that Myrrhine is thought of as a spirit, for to the Greeks the gods were actual persons, visible as well in this world as the next.²

One class of steles exists which everybody admits represents this world, and that is the class where a woman is represented at the moment of death.³ In these cases of death we see the woman, her strength gone, her arms dropping relaxed at her side, sinking back into the arms of an attendant. About her are sometimes members of her family tearing their hair or showing other signs of grief. Then scenes such as that of Demokleides⁴ sitting on the prow of

¹ Gaz. Arch. i. Pl. 7.

² Another stele sometimes said to show a similar religious motive is a late one still *in situ* in the Dipylon. It represents two men seated between two women; before them a table with food. On the left, at the feet of one of the women, is a man seated in a boat, reaching out his hand for food. For representation, see Harrison, *Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 585. Dr. Percy Gardner (*Journ. Hel. Stud.* v. 105 f.) interprets the seated man as Charon in his boat. If this interpretation is true, the monument is unique. Against it may be said that the position of the so-called Charon is hardly suited to a god; that his dress, and particularly the build of his body, are exactly like that of the other men; and finally, that there are too many oars in the boat for us to believe that it belonged to Charon. The man in the boat and his companions at the table are merely fishermen.

³ Brueckner, *Von d. Griech. Grabst.*, 15 ff.; Weisshäupl, *Die Grabgedichte d. Griech.* Anth. p. 97 ff.; Conze, *Att. Grabst.* Pl. 46, 63, 73-75. See also the text to Pl. 95.

⁴ Conze, *id.* 121.

a boat with his head in his hands can only be in this world, and the figure, contrary to Furtwaengler's assertion, shows signs of great grief.

There is another type still which also, I believe, can be explained only in this way. I mean the steles on which, beside the other people, there is a very young child. Professor Furtwaengler says of these children: "Niemand fragt ob sie todt sind oder lebend, weil sie überhaupt nicht eigentliche Personen, sondern nur Attribute sind."¹ This statement is, I believe, too strong. In some cases, as for instance, that of Mnesagora, the child is distinctively mentioned in the inscription.² Another case where the child is certainly not an attribute is that of a stele found in Aegina,³ on which is represented a youth on the right putting his hand on the head of a naked boy who stands in front of him. The latter looks up to the youth and stretches his hand towards a dog who stands between them. Now it is plain that the child cannot be an *attribute* here, and the gesture of the elder man leaves no doubt that the boy represents an actual person. Furthermore, why, when we find steles representing only children,⁴ should we consider them as attributes and not as real beings on steles where no one doubts that all the other figures are real? I will not say that they were never used symbolically, but such cases are of extreme rarity. I know of only one where we may say, if we choose, that they are so used. It is the stele of Phanostrate,⁵ on which is the epigram:

Μαῖα καὶ ἱατρὸς Φανοστράτῃ ἐνθάδε κείται
οἴθ' ἐνὶ λυπηρά, πᾶσιν δὲ θανοῦσα ποθεινή.

¹ Einl. zu der Sam. Sab. p. 48.

² This stele is in Athens, either in a private collection or in the Asomaton chapel. A photograph shows a woman in Ionic chiton and himation, the latter thrown over her left shoulder and passed under her right arm, and then over her outstretched left, leaving the right arm free to drop at her side. In her left hand she holds a bird by both wings. She stands to the right. In front a small naked boy kneels on his left knee and stretches both hands up towards the bird. See Kaibel, Epigr. Gr. ex Lap. conl. 87.

³ Alte Denk. 1888, Pl. 35.

⁴ Kabbadias, Κατ. 'Εθν. Μουσ. 981, 983.

⁵ Conze, Att. Grabrel. 84 (340); Kabbadias, Κατ. 'Εθν. Μουσ. 993.

The four children carved on this stone may, perhaps, be considered as attributes.

Thus, usually, these little figures represent real persons, and they probably always do, for it is hardly consistent with Greek feeling to distinguish a woman by an *attribute* of a child.

There is a large number of reliefs which show us an extremely young child—so young that it is still in swaddling clothes.¹ This can only belong to the dead woman, and yet it is generally held by one of the other figures, in one case² by a mere child. There can be no doubt that it belongs to the dead woman. We can hardly interpret these scenes as being in the next world, for it would not be likely that a dead person would hold a baby in her arms as she greeted another. Furthermore, the baby cannot be an attribute in these cases, for it is not held by the woman to whom the stele was erected. It is natural, however, that the death of a mother, especially if she died in childbirth, should be represented by the baby taken in charge by a friend.

In another case³ we see the mother, her head tipped up, apparently falling back into the arms of an attendant. In front stands a grieving maiden, while another holds the child wrapped in swaddling bands.

It might be thought that such a scene would not be represented, but we have indisputable proof that it often was.⁴ Pausanias⁵ describes a painting he saw commemorative of Xenodike : *μνήμα Ξενοδίκης ἀποθανούσης ἐν ᾧδῶσι*. Another inscription is :

παῖδά τοι ἰφθίμαν Δαμαινέτου ἄδε Κρατίσταν
 Ἄρχεμάχου δὲ φίλαν εὖνιν ἔδεκτο κόνις ·
 ἃ ποθ' ὑπ' ᾧδῶν σπονόμεντι κατέφθιτο πότημωι
 ὀρφανὸν ἐμμεγάρους παῖδα λιπούσα πόσει.⁶

¹ Conze, Att. Grabrel. No. 276; 274, 277, 278, 281, 302, Pl. 65, 73, 76.

² Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. 76.

³ Conze, *id.* Pl. 73.

⁴ Weisshäupl, Die Grabgedichte d. Griech. Anth. 84 ff.

⁵ ii. 7. 3.

⁶ Kaibel, Epigr. Gr. ex Lap. conl. 77. Cf. 238; 467, 675; add. 228 B. Anth. Pal. vii. 729, 730, 163, 464-465, vi. 348.

We are thus enabled to explain these steles in a way that exactly suits the scenes carved on them.

We now come to the most difficult problem of all,—that of explaining the steles on which there are many figures, two of them holding each other's hands. Hitherto we have dealt with steles on which one figure was by far the most prominent; but now, owing to this new motive, two figures at least are of equal prominence. There can be only three interpretations of this scene, — one that it is a scene of greeting; one that it is a farewell; or, finally, that it is symbolical simply of strong feeling between the two figures.¹ All these views have been, and still are, held. Professor Furtwaengler says:² “Also auch alle die Attischen Familiengruppen mit dem Motive des Handschlags stellen die Todte dar, wie dies nach unserer ganzen bisherigen Darstellung auch nicht anders sein konnte. Von der Existenz des Todten wollen alle Grabdenkmäler reden. Die bisher betrachteten Gruppen thun dies, indem sie ihn entweder als ein höheres Wesen zeigen oder ihn ganz nach Analogie dieses Lebens bilden; beide ruhen damit auf den ältesten Anschauungen. Es ist anders mit jenen Familienvereinen; ihnen liegen die relativ erst später ausgebildeten Unterweltsvorstellungen zu Grunde von einem Ort wo man sich trifft, sich wiedersieht, und, durch Handschlag, die treue enge Verbindung untereinander bekräftigt, mit seinen Angehörigen vereinigt weiterlebt.” In support of this view he quotes six passages from ancient authors.³ Brueckner has dissented from this view,⁴ and regards this joining of hands in some cases as significant of leave-taking, in others as a conventional composition. The view which regards these steles as scenes of

¹ Cf. Stephani, *Comte-Rendu*, 1861, p. 102 ff., who says: “Es ist demnach einleuchtend, dass es den Urhebern dieser Bilder auf nichts anderes ankommen konnte, als die Liebe und Zuneigung zu betonen, welche die dargestellten Familien-Glieder sowohl im diesseitigen, als auch im jenseitigen Leben verband, indem sie bei vertraulichem Gedanken-Austausch einander die Hände reichten.”

² *Einl. zu der Sam. Sab.* p. 43.

³ Aesch. Ag. 1514 (Kirchhof); Soph. Oed. T. 1371 ff.; Antig. 892 ff.; Plato, *Apology*, 40 c ff.; *Menex.* 247 c; *Hyperid. epit.* 13 f. (Blass. p. 63 ff.). He might well have added Eur. Alc. 363, 609, etc. (ed. Dindorf).

⁴ Von d. Griech. Grabrel. p. 35 f.; *Orn. und Form d. Att. Grabstelen*, p. 86.

greeting is, I believe, untenable in the vast majority of cases, though there are a few in which it may possibly be correct.

Professor Furtwaengler adduces evidence for his theory from a relief which was found in Aegina,¹ which may be (though this is not certain) the grave-relief of a man and his wife. The stele represents a woman(?) on the left, who clasps the hand of an enthroned figure on the right, in whose left hand is an apple. Only the lower half of the figures remains. Professor Furtwaengler sees in this relief the first known case of the grave-reliefs with the clasped hand motive, and also uses it as proof of his theory that the figures on the grave-steles are always thought of as dead. He says :² "einer wie eine grosse chthonische Göttin mit dem Symbole des Apfels gebildeten Verstorbene, kann unmöglich ein Lebender die Hand drücken." In the first place, we have absolutely no right to call this figure "eine grosse chthonische Göttin." She is no more than the woman on the stele from the Piraeus, to which I have referred.³ Furthermore, we know that it is *not* impossible for a divinity to hold the hand of a living person. Stephani, in an extremely thorough study of the meaning of clasped hands in antiquity,⁴ shows that this occurs again and again on vases, gems, coins, and in literature; and because this case is unique in regard to gravestones, we have no right to say it is impossible. But, as I have said above, there is no reason to call this figure a "Göttin." She has the attribute of an apple, which *perhaps* means she is dead, but that is all. To my mind the stele is the forerunner of the later Attic ones, the clasped hands, as we shall see later, representing rather an ideal than an actual fact, and to leave no doubt in any one's mind, the dead person is marked by an attribute. Though there may be question as to the interpretation of this scene, every one will agree that argument from such a fragment is at best very doubtful, and I merely wish to point out that it may be considered from more than one point of view.

¹ Athen. Mitt. viii. 375, Pl. 17.

² Einl. zu der Sam. Sab. p. 47.

³ Brueckner, Orn. und Form d. Att. Grabstel. Pl. ii. 1.

⁴ Comte-Rendu, 1861, p. 70 ff.

One of Professor Furtwaengler's chief arguments in support of his theory is that these figures never show grief. I believe I have sufficiently demonstrated that they do so, and have also suggested a reason why it does not take a more prominent form.¹ If, however, there be still any doubt about the figures being sorrowful or not, there is no room for doubt that the epigrams on the steles often express sorrow. Before considering this point a more general one is to be noted. Professor Furtwaengler has adduced only six references in favor of his view,—three of them from authors whose ideas, especially in regard to abstract subjects, we cannot suppose to have been held by the mass of the people. Now if, however, this belief was as general as he supposes and had such numerous representations in art, it is certain, I think, that we should find traces of it in the epigrams that deal with the dead. It cannot be said that we find no evidences of it, but they are very few and vague, while, on the other hand, references to the life on earth are practically innumerable. To take a few instances.

Among the fragments of Simonides is one,² a grave-inscription, which tells us that Glaukos set up the stele to Theognis of Sinope, in memory of their old-time friendship. We do not know what the stele represented, but at any rate the epigram speaks of the friendship that *had been*—not a word of its ever being continued again. Another very marked instance is that of the epitaph (which I have before mentioned) which Aeschylus wished to have cut on his tombstone.³ Further, we frequently find the character of the dead person mentioned.⁴ But most frequent of all are the epigrams expressive of sorrow. Sometimes these take a really poetic form, as:

Σῆμα φί[λ]ου παιδὸς τόδε Δ — [κατ]έθηκεν
Στησίον ὃν θάνατος [δακρυ]όεις κατέχει.⁵

But generally they are more commonplace in phraseology, though they seldom lack a certain touching quality, owing to their simplicity,

¹ Cf. Weisshäupl, Die Grabgedichte d. Griech. Anth. p. 99.

² Pomtow, Poet. Lyr. Gr. Min. ii. 50.

³ Pomtow, *id.* ii. 79.

⁴ Kaibel, Epigr. Gr. ex Lap. conl. 51, 53-55.

⁵ Kaibel, *id.* 15.

which more elaborate verses often want. For instance, a father puts up a tombstone to his son, after whose name he merely adds, "His death caused me sorrow."¹ Of Euthykritos we are told that he was

μητρὶ φίλον καὶ πατρὶ, κασσιγνήταις δὲ ποθεινόν
πᾶσ[ι] τε ἐταίρουσιν σύντροφον ἡλικίας.²

Erseis, when she died, far from home, was missed by all who knew her.

Ἐρσήις, γνωτοῖσιν πᾶσι λιπούσα πόθον.³

Or again :

Ἀθάνατος φιλία σῆς ψυχῆς ἐστὶ παρ' ἀνδρὶ.⁴

One, commemorative of a maiden, ends with words that bring back to one's mind the stele of the girl spinning. They are :

λείπω δὲ δάκρυα καὶ γόους τροφοῖ[σι] μου·
μοιρῶν γὰρ ἄνισος τοῦτ' ἐπέκλωσεν μίτος.⁵

There are others that refer, not to the grief, but to the family itself which is left behind, as in the case of Neike, who says of her husband :

φ' λείπω κατὰ δῶμα καλῶν βλαστήματα τέκνων,⁶

or that of Neikephoros, who says:

Τέσσαρα τέκνα λιπώ[ν] Νεικήφορος ἐνθάδε κείμεναι
ἐν χρηστῆς ἀλόχου πνεῦ[μα] λιπὼν παλάμαις.⁷

I have before mentioned the stele of Polyxene⁸ in relation to the sorrowful expression of the figures, and we find this same feeling in the epigram cut above them:

Πένθος κουριδίωι τε πόσει καὶ μητρὶ λιπούσα
καὶ πατρὶ τῷ φύσαντι Πολυξένη ἐνθάδε κείται.

¹ Kaibel, *id.* 486.

⁵ Kaibel, *id.* 127.

² Kaibel, *id.* 49.

⁶ Kaibel, *id.* 275.

³ Kaibel, *id.* 91.

⁷ Kaibel, *id.* 327.

⁴ Kaibel, *id.* 80.

⁸ Kabbadias, *Κατ. Ἑθν. Μουσ.* 723; Conze, *Att. Grabrel.* Pl. 66.

An epigram of the third century (in this case unaccompanied by figures) on the stele of Melitta shows us that, at any rate sometimes, there was doubt as to the character of the next world, for Hipponstrates, who set up the stele, says :

οἶδα δὲ σοὶ ὅτι καὶ κατὰ γῆς, εἴπερ χρηστοῖς γέρας ἐστίν,
πρώτῃ σοὶ τιμαί, τίτθῃ, παρὰ Περσεφόνῃ Πλούτωνί τε κέινται.¹

These lines add evidence to my belief that the passages from Greek authors adduced by Professor Furtwaengler do not necessarily show a belief in the other world that was held by the οἱ πολλοί.

There are many more such epigrams,² but these are sufficient to show the prevalent tone. Now it is hardly credible that the figures on the grave-steles should represent persons in a state of joyful existence, and yet that this mournful strain should so often be present in the verses.

As I have already said, these epigrams afford comparatively few references to the next world. But there are some, of which the following is an example, which seem rather to consist of stock poetic phrases respecting the dead, than to be an expression of formal belief.

Οὐκ ἐπιδὼν νυμφεῖα λέχη κατέβην τὸν ἄφυκτον
Γόργυππος ξανθῆς Περσεφόνης θάλαμον.³

The direct references to the underworld are usually vague, and generally of late date. Their character is shown by

Θρέπτος ἀκμὴν νέος ὦν ὥχετ' ἐς ἡμιθέους.⁴

Others, above the epigram, have the letters Θ K for the words Θεοῖς Καταχθονίοις.⁵ This is, however, nothing but a form of prayer, and does not influence the epigram. An analogy to this is to be seen in the steles which represent a figure praying. Sometimes

¹ Kaibel, *id.* 48.

² Cf. Kaibel, 44, 45, 325, 474, 505, 562.

³ Pomtow, *Poet. Lyr. Graec. Min.* ii. 51.

⁴ Kaibel, *id.* 669; cf. 433.

⁵ Kaibel, *id.* 671.

Hermes Chthonios is mentioned;¹ sometimes merely the fact that the soul has gone to the next world, as :

Ψυχὴ μὲν προλιπούσα τὸ σὸν [Δημήτριε σώμα
οἴχεται εἰς Ἑρέβος.²

When we consider the small number and vagueness of these references to the future life and, on the other hand, the large number and distinctness of the references to the past life, the only natural conclusion we can derive from these epigrams is that they imply that the scenes depicted below them are in like manner those of the past and not of the future life.

And how does Professor Furtwaengler's theory suit the many grave-steles on which we find the inscription *χρηστέ, χαῖρε*?

An epigram which Professor Furtwaengler adduces as evidence that all the figures on the steles were supposed to be those of the dead is that of one Dionysios, which runs as follows:³

Σῆμα τόδ' Οἰναίου Διονυσίου · τῶν δ' ἔτι πρόσθεν
Πείθωνος πατρὸς οὗ καὶ Φειδίππου τόδε θείου
τούτου τῶν τ' ἄλλων, ὧν τύπος εἰκόν' ἔχει.

Now this epigram seems to me rather to support the opposite conclusion from that which Professor Furtwaengler draws from it, for the very reason that it takes particular pains to tell us that all the figures represented on the stele are dead. If at the time this stele was put up it had been the invariable habit to represent only dead persons on the gravestones, the artist would hardly have thought of mentioning in the epigram the fact that all the people below were dead. His doing so shows that such representation was unusual. Further an epigram that distinctly states that a *τύμβος* was erected to a living person is given by Kaibel.⁴ If we suppose that this grave was decorated with sculpture, and that this sculpture, taking the usual form, showed to the beholder Pylades and his wife, we would here have a case where one of the persons represented was alive, while the other was dead. We can only form theories as to

¹ Kaibel, *id.* 505.

² Kaibel, *id.* (add.), 35 a.

³ Einl. zu der Sam. Sab. p. 47; Kaibel, *id.* 66.

⁴ *Id.* 377.

what form the sculpture took, but, at any rate, the epigram adds evidence *against* the next-world theory.¹

Professor Furtwaengler mentions the fact that there are many of these family gravestones which were made to commemorate one particular member of the family, whose name is given, and that the other figures have had their names added later.² These figures also are dead, he says, for: "die Sitte, grössere Familienbilder machen zu lassen, brachte es indess natürlich mit sich dass man auch lebende Personen darstellte, aber man stellte sie als todt in den für Todten geschaffenen Typen dar; es sind im voraus gefertigte Bilder der künftigen Verstorbenen." This is perfectly true. No one will question the fact that if, when the steles were made, the figures did not represent people already dead, they at least represented persons who were going to die. But this does not afford support to Furtwaengler's general theory. The fact that names were added to the steles some time after they had been put up to commemorate a particular person is capable of one, and only one, interpretation, and that is that these later-named persons were *not* dead at the time the monument was erected. Furthermore, these figures were not intended to represent dead persons, for if the idea of their death had actuated the sculptor in his work, and he had wished to represent a scene of greeting in the underworld, there is no reason whatever why they should not have had their names given them at the time the monument was first set up.

If, on the other hand, we explain the monuments as scenes of life, the explanation of the later addition of names to the secondary persons is simple. It is merely that the monument was made to commemorate one person, but, according to the prevailing custom, various members of the family of this person were also represented. As these other members died their names were carved on the original monument. This was due to two causes,—one, probably the size and expense of these monuments, which prevented them from becom-

¹ Cf. the double gravestones in the graveyards of to-day, on one half of which is an inscription, while the other half is blank, the person for whom it is intended not having died.

² Kabbadias, *Kat. 'Ebr. Mus.* 737, 868.

ing common ; the other, that having been represented once, there was no use in this being done again. Were all these figures supposed to be dead it is surprising that no attributes show this fact, and that only one should be named.

There are still other steles and epigrams which it is impossible to explain by the next-world theory. To begin with, I will again refer to the stele of Mnesagora and the epigram thereon, which runs as follows :

Μνήμα Μνησαγόρας καὶ Νικοχάρους τόδε κείται·
αὐτῷ δ' οὐ παραδείξαι ἀφείλετο δαίμονος αἴσα,
πατρὶ φίλῳ καὶ μητρὶ λιπόντε ἀμφοῖμμέγα πένθος,
οὐνεκα ἀποφθιμένῳ βήτην δόμον Ἄιδος εἴσω.¹

The figures on the stele are, as we have already seen, a standing woman holding out a bird to a little boy. These verses are not easy to interpret, and may be open to another meaning than what I give them, but to my mind the writer meant to say that he had not represented them as in death but as they had lived. This meaning certainly agrees with the figures.

Another case is that of Chairestrate,² on whose stele is written :

Μητρὸς παντοτέκνου πρόπολος σεμνή τε γεραῖρά
τῷδε τάφῳ κείται Χαιρεστράτη, ἣν ὁ σύνευνος
ἔστερξεν μὲν ζῶσαν, ἐπένθησεν δὲ θανοῦσαν·
φῶς δ' ἔλιπ' εὐδαίμων παῖδας παῖδων ἐπιδούσα.

The figures are a seated woman and a child before her, holding a tympanon, perhaps a symbol of death. This child is undoubtedly one of the children referred to in the epigram, and not an "attribute." The tympanon might be thought to imply that she was dead, but considering the other evidence, and that the child holds it towards Chairestrate, we may safely infer that (if it really does here have any reference to death) it is meant to imply the latter's death. Further, Chairestrate shows no signs of age, so that the conclusion we must form is that the dead woman is shown us as she had

¹ Kaibel, *id.* 87.

² Kabbadias, *Kat. Ἑθν. Μουσ.* 1030 ; Kaibel, *id.* 44.

lived, and the tympanon is merely a religious symbol, such as are not infrequently introduced on the steles.

On another stele where we have the hand-shaking motive the woman is plainly alive, as these words show :

ὦν σε χάριν στέρξας Ἐρξίς . . .
μνημῶν φιλίας τεύξε τάφ[ον φθιμένῳ].¹

The epigram as a whole deals with the love that had existed between Erxis and the dead Demetrios. If, then, the scene represents the renewal of that love, why dwell on the sadness of the parting?

How does the next-world theory explain a stele such as that of Lamunthios and Euboutides in Athens, on which, besides the figures of these two men with their names cut above them, is the name of Ada, the wife of Lamunthios²? The sculptor did not carve the figure of Ada as he surely would have done had he been thinking of the life hereafter when he carved her husband's portrait and her son's. Ada must have died after the two men, and then her name was cut beside theirs.

As there are steles with both epigrams and figures that can only be explained as representing the past life, and more particularly giving us an ideal picture of the farewell from family or friends, or the strong affection between those who are gone and those left behind (for the steles show these two thoughts), so there are numerous sculptured steles in the interpretation of which we have not the assistance of verses, but which, as I have already said, cannot represent anything but this friendship, and the ideal representation of the parting and breaking of the ties of life.

For instance, a stele in Athens³ shows a seated woman grasping with both hands the hand and arm of another woman who stands before her. The head of the latter droops, her hand, with fingers closed, hangs listlessly at her side. Now were this a scene of greeting can we suppose that the seated figure would grasp *one* arm in this way, or, what is more to the point, can we for an instant sup-

¹ Kaibel, *id.* (add.) 35 a.

² Kabbadias, *Kat. 'Eθν. Μουσ.* 906.

³ Conze, *Att. Grabrel.* Pl. 45.

pose that the standing figure would not make some return of affection, and not stand resisting rather than joining in the greeting? Surely not; and the true interpretation is that the seated figure clings to the living, loath to leave her, and yet the other can do nothing, but must stay behind grieving for her lost friend.

On another stele,¹ with practically the same scene, the standing maiden with drooping head turns away from, rather than towards, her seated mother.

Again,² we see an old man standing quietly, his left hand bent under his down-turned head, holding the hand of a seated woman. If this scene represents greeting the artist certainly chose attitudes extremely inexpressive of his meaning, whereas it may well be an imaginative treatment of the last long, sad look of husband and wife.

The same criticism holds good in regard to Miltiades and Eupraxis.³ The chief characteristic of a person who greets another is that the whole body, and particularly the face, is alert. These figures, however, are relaxed. Miltiades leans on a stick; and that Eupraxis makes no effort to rise is clearly shown by the position of her feet, one of which is crossed over and rests partially on the other. Furthermore, their heads hang listlessly to one side.

A fragment,⁴ large enough, however, for there to be no doubt what the original composition was, shows us figures who cannot be said to show any pleasure at the meeting.

Can any one believe that the figures shown in Conze's book (Taf. 104, 106), with sadly bent heads, one of whom sits with one hand wrapped close in her himation, while with the other she draws her veil before her face, ever formed parts of groups in which the figures greeted one another?

In yet another group⁵ the standing figure with one arm gathers her himation about her; the seated figure rests one hand quietly in her lap. Neither of these two actions is expressive of greeting.

¹ Conze, *id.* Pl. 85.

² Conze, *id.* Pl. 54 (193).

³ Conze, *id.* Pl. 59. Cf. also Pl. 60, 61, 90.

⁴ Conze, *id.* Pl. 69.

⁵ Conze, *id.* Pl. 88 (357).

Once more, the gesture of Damasistrate¹ and the attitudes of her husband and daughter forbid us to believe that anything but a farewell is here represented.

A conclusive case is offered us by a group on a fragment of a large stone grave-lekythos.² Whatever may be thought of the other instances I have mentioned, nobody can imagine that in a greeting the person mainly concerned would turn his head directly away from the person he was greeting. And that is what the seated woman here does. This, then, must be a scene suggestive of parting.

Are greeting and happiness expressed by the hands wrapped in their himations of Dion and Dexikrateia ;³ by the latter's wistful look and drooping head, or, finally, by the sad face, resting on her hand, of Lysistrate ? It is impossible. Those who have ever felt

Αἰδῶ, τοῦθ' ὁσίως κέκρικας ;⁴

know that such attitudes are those of sorrow, not of joy.

Finally, why, if these scenes are those of a joyful meeting in a world of never-fading bliss do slaves and servants make moan about it ? I have shown above why we should not expect the chief personages to show signs of passionate grief, and why they are fitting in the case of servants, but they are utterly incompatible on the part of any one in a scene of greeting.

Thus, from analogy with other monuments, from epigraphical evidence (sometimes on the steles themselves), and from analysis of the scenes represented we come to the conclusion that as the single-figure steles show us the dead persons as they had lived, so these groups of many figures do the same. In these latter the dead person is merely shown surrounded by his family or friends, and where the motive of the clasped hands occurs it is not a sign that the figures are spirits meeting in the realm of Hades, but it is an imaginative portrayal of the breaking of the ties of life, of the parting on earth from all one has held most dear, — a separation, the relation

¹ Conze, *id.* Pl. 97.

² Conze, *id.* Pl. 103 (443); cf. Pl. 113 (515).

³ Conze, Pl. 108.

⁴ Anth. Pal. vii. 187.

of which to life the Greek seems to have understood as clearly, and to have felt not less deeply, but in a nobler way, than we. The distinction between the inevitable and the accidental and avoidable should be kept vividly in mind, for it was one that was felt sharply by the Greek, who fully realized the futility of quarrelling with the decrees of Fate, for he knew that submission was the only remedy for ills sent by the gods. This is expressed again and again by the Greek authors, and to it is due probably the restraint of feeling shown upon the grave-monuments.

Although I believe that the vast majority of cases were intended to show only pictures of living people, still this may not always be the case. What is more, we should not expect it to be always so. All arts are mere methods of expression, and the general truths that we learn from any one art in a given period we learn also from the other arts at that time. Hence, as we have seen that there are a few passages in Greek literature that refer more or less vaguely to a meeting of friends after death, we should naturally expect to find a few monumental expressions of the same belief. And this is what we do find. It would be a mistake, I believe, as in the case of the earlier Spartan reliefs, to endeavor to interpret them all in the same way. I will now give a few cases where it seems possible the figures were supposed to be in the next world.

The first case is one of two women,¹—one seated, the other standing. The seated figure leans eagerly forward, her feet drawn under her chair, as though she were about to rise, and with both hands tries to draw the standing maiden towards her. In her turn, the standing figure bends down towards the other, with one hand holding her seated mother's(?) arm, while with the other she is about to touch her cheek,—an attitude often represented in groups of lovers or friends.² Now this scene may be one of parting. In many of the steles we get an indication of the meaning from the figure of an attendant; but in this case the attitude of the servant who stands behind the seated figure is indifferent, and would suit either

¹ Conze, *id.* Pl. 78.

² Bul. de Cor. Hel. x. Pl. xiv.; Sam. Sab. ii. Pl. 135; Arch. Ztg. 1884 Pl. 1.

a scene of parting or one of greeting. We have before seen that the expression of violent emotion is confined almost invariably to the attendants. The chief characteristic of the scene before us is its extreme affectionateness. It shows an intensity of feeling that is rarely met with in such work; and if the scene is one of parting, we might fairly suppose that the attendant would show signs of grief, echoing those of the two other figures. As she does not do this, one may (till we get further evidence to the contrary) consider this as a scene of greeting. The same motive occurs on a fragment depicted in Conze's book, the only difference being that in this latter case there was perhaps no attendant.¹

Another stele which possibly shows us the greeting scene is that of Ainesidamos and Kallimetis.² All that we can say with certainty is that both the seated Kallimetis and the standing Ainesidamos bend towards one another in a way that is suited to greeting as well as parting. Did we but have inscriptional evidence in such cases, showing whether both figures were dead, and, if so, which had died first, we could then tell whether the scene was of joyful or sorrowful import.

A stele on which the gesture of the figures reminds us of the first stele I have put in this class, is that of Mynnion.³ The stele shows us but two figures, both standing; the younger one, Mynnion, the other, presumably, her mother. The stele is commemorative of Mynnion. The mother(?) with her left hand clasps her daughter round the neck, while with the other she touches her chin. There is nothing unnatural in supposing the elder figure to be dead, as well as the younger one, and by the gestures of the two figures the sculptor may have wished to suggest the enduring love of the two women.⁴

A grave-vase that may also show a scene of greeting is that of

¹ Conze, *id.* Pl. 43 (150).

² Conze, Pl. 57 (209), Kabbadias, *Kar. 'Eθν. Μουσ.* 923.

³ Brueckner, *Orn. und Form d. Gr. Grabst.* Pl. ii. 6; Kabbadias, *Kar. 'Eθν. Μουσ.* 763.

⁴ A stele of a man and woman similar to that of Mynnion is in the museum at Grenoble. The figures stand upright and make the same gestures (*Gaz. Arch.* ii. Pl. 28).

Plangon.¹ We here see a standing woman, Plangon, holding the hand of another woman, who is seated. Unfortunately, only traces of the latter are left. Behind the seated figure are remains of what was once another standing figure. Behind Plangon is a small attendant carrying a box. The single remaining inscription, Πλαγγών, is not sufficient evidence for us to assert that this is the figure to whom the vase was erected; but the fact that she is accompanied by the little figure with the box shows us, at least, that she was dead. Unfortunately there is absolutely no evidence as to whether the seated figure was dead or not. I believe it is invariably the case, however, that of two women it is the elder one who is seated. Hence this may be the dead mother. This is a mere supposition; all that is certain is that Plangon comes towards the seated figure in a way to imply greeting rather than parting.

The final question that arises in every one's mind must be: Is there any way of deciding with certainty which is the dead person? To this I give a negative answer. As a rule, one can tell from the inscriptions; but where these are lacking, one can only judge by the actions of the figures, — by the fact that often the interest is centred on one person; perhaps in the case of women one may get a hint by the use of the veil. Often, however, one cannot make out at all. At any rate, one can tell better if one believes them to be pictures of the living than if one supposes all the figures to be dead, in which case one cannot tell in a single instance.

If in the foregoing discussion of Attic gravestones I have interpreted the facts correctly, the conclusion is plain. It is that the figures on these grave-steles almost invariably represent the dead as they had lived, and that in some few cases there may be suggestions of the existence of the dead in the lower world. Had the idea been to depict the life to come, it is scarcely credible that we should have so little variety in type. The single-figure steles offer little difficulty of interpretation. The steles on which are groups offer more. It must be borne in mind that these were scarcely used till the fourth century B.C., after the changes wrought in the Greek mind by Sokrates and his school; and the difficulties I

¹ Conze, *id.* Pl. 84 (342).

have mentioned are due to the fact that the Greek sculptor, in his pride of technique, was losing sight of the necessary limitations of his art. He was trying to represent abstract ideas in forms of action. He was mixing that which can only be told in words with what can adequately be shown in stone; hence the development of grave-inscriptions. But the essential character of the earlier and later grave-steles is the same; and what is more, it represents feelings that are as sharp to-day as of old, although, unfortunately, they are less simply expressed.

MUNICH, 1895.

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